# THE LIVES OF THE Roman POETS.

CONTAINING

A Critical and Hiſtorical Account of Them and their Writings, with large Quotations of their moſt celebrated Paſſages, as far as was neceſſary to compare and illuſtrate their ſeveral Excellencies, as well as to diſcover wherein they were deficient.

To which is added,

A Chronological Table, fitted to the Years before and after CHRIST, ſhewing the Times when they flouriſhed and publiſhed their Works, and exhibiting the more remarkable Events coincident with them.

Together with

An INTRODUCTION concerning the Origin and Progreſs of POETRY in general; and an ESSAY on Dramatic POETRY in particular.

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By *L. CRUSIUS*, late of St. JOHN's College, CAMBRIDGE.

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——*Dulces ante omnia Muſæ*
*Quarum ſacra fero*—— Virg. Georg.

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TO THE

Reverend and Learned

Dr. JOHN NEWCOME,

THE

Lady MARGARET's Professor of Divinity

IN THE

UNIVERSITY of *Cambridge*,

THIS

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

LIVES of the Roman POETS,

With due Respect and Gratitude,

Is humbly inscribed

By his most obliged

And most obedient Servant,

LEWIS CRUSIUS.

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THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASVATI MAHAL

MAHARAJA BENFODHI'S ... MAHAL.

THE

# LIFE

OF

# Valerius Flaccus.

WE have very imperfect accounts left us of C. VALERIUS FLACCUS: We find him cotemporary with *Martial*; and *Quintilian** says, he died very young, and left his Poem of the *Argonautic* expedition imperfect. There are many places that claim him, but *Setia*, now *Sezza*, a town of *Campania*, near *Velitre*, seems to have the best title, and he from thence bears the firname SETINUS. *Martial* intimates, that he lived at *Padua*; if not, that he was born there, in the following Epigram, wherein he advises his friend to leave Poetry to practise at the Bar, as much the more profitable profession. But let us hear the Poet's own words:

*O mihi curarum pretium non vile mearum*
*Flacce, Antenorei spes & Alumne laris;*
*Pierios differ cantusque chorosque sororum;*
*Æs dabit ex istis nulla puella tibi.*
*Quid possunt hederæ Bacchi dare? Palladis arbor*
*Inclinat varias pondere nigra comas.*
*Præter aquas Helicon, & serta, lyrasque Deorum*
*Nil habet & magnum semper inane Sophos.*
*Quid petis a Phœbo? nummos habet arca Minervæ,*
*Hæc sapit, hæc omnes fœnerat una Deos.*
*Quid tibi cum Cirrha? quid cum Permessidos unda?*
*Romanum propius, divitiusque forum est,*

* *Inst. Orat.* Lib. 10. C. 1.

*Illic Æra ſonant, at circum pulpita noſtra,*
*Et ſteriles cathedras Baſia ſola crepant.*
Lib. 2. Ep. 77.

Dear FLACCUS, gentle partner of my care,
Thy country's glory, *Padua* the fair,
The fruitleſs ſong and ſtarving Muſes leave,
Nor *Clio* nor her ſiſters aught can give;
Why court *Apollo*, proud of laurel'd praiſe?
The well fill'd Cheſt is his whom *Pallas* ſways,
Her's are the fruitful Olive's bending boughs,
Whilſt uſeleſs Ivy for your *Bacchus* grows.
Clear waters *Helicon* indeed affords,
The Lyre, and Garland, and fine empty words,
What's *Cirrha*, or *Permeſſian* ſtreams to you,
The *Forum*'s nearer, and is richer too:
There chinks the purſe that ſwells with client's fee,
But where's the man that pays for Poetry!
A cold ſalute, a faint applauſe they give,
On this thin diet muſt we Poets live.

HAVING nothing to ſay of FLACCUS's life, let us look into his Poem. It is addreſſed to the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, and the Poet at the ſame time takes occaſion to compliment *Domitian* upon his Poetry, and *Titus* on his conqueſt of *Judæa*. He has been blamed by the Critics for affecting too great a magnificence at the entrance into his Poem, which they would have like thoſe of *Homer* and *Virgil*, more ſimple and unadorn'd. Here follow the invocation of *Apollo*, and the addreſs to *Veſpaſian*:

*Phœbe mone, ſi Cumeæ mihi conſcia vatis*
*Stat caſtâ cortina domo, ſi laurea digna*
*Fronte viret. Tuque O pelagi cui major aperti*
*Fama, Caledonius poſtquam tua carbaſa vexit*
*Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos,*
*Eripe me populis & habenti nubila terræ,*
*Sancte pater, veterumque fave veneranda canenti*
*Facta virum, verſam proles tua pandit Idumen,*

*Namque poteſt, Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem,*
*Spargentemque faces, & in omni turre furentem.*
Lib. 1. Ver. 5.

If conſcious at *Cumæan* Rites I bend,
And at the hallow'd ſervice pure attend;
If undefil'd thy laurel'd wreath I wear;
*Phœbus*, inſpire my numbers, hear my pray'r.
And thou, whoſe glory from the ocean ſprings,
On which thy fleets ſucceſsful ſpread their wings,
The Northern ocean, that indignant bore
The *Julian* ſhips back to the *Gallic* ſhore;
Deign, mighty Prince, the Poet's fame to raiſe
Above mean cenſure, and protect his lays;
Support the Muſe aſpiring to unfold
Heroic acts in antient ſtory told.
The *Flavian* Bard a nobler theme purſues,
A brother's triumph o'er the vanquiſh'd *Jews*.
The ſmoaking towns of *Solyma* declare
The Hero's valour and their own deſpair.

THE learn'd world has been divided in their opinion of this Author: Some Commentators have not ſcrupled to exalt him above all the *Latin* Poets, *Virgil* only excepted; whilſt other Critics have undervalued him as much. The Poem we are about to conſider, is an imitation rather than a tranſlation of *Apollonius* the *Greek* Poet, four books of whoſe Poem are yet extant. And this the learned reader will find, if he will be at the pains of making the compariſon; and it has been obſerved, that the *Latin* Poet has ſucceeded beſt in thoſe parts where he had not the *Greek* in view. In a word, he may paſs for no mean writer; and the purity of his ſtyle and poetical turn of his expreſſion, has abſolutely ſet him above *S. Italicus*, if not above *Lucan*: As to the conduct of the Poem, he is even their inferior. *Statius* is his ſuperior, both in Poetry and the execution of his Poem, in the *Thebaid*: Neither *Lucan*'s nor *S. Italicus*'s ſubjects would bear the ſeveral alterations, nor admit the many fictitious

ornaments neceſſary to make them a juſt Epic Poem. But the Story which *Flaccus* choſe for his ſubject, being of the greateſt antiquity as well as note, as bordering on the fabulous times, left room for his genius to exert itſelf with advantage; and having *Apollonius*'s work before him, by comparing it with thoſe of *Homer* and *Virgil*, he might have ſeen where it was deficient, and have ſupplied thoſe wants in laying out his own ſubject. But I am apt to believe that Poets ſeldom take any other guide than their own genius, which makes ſo many fail in the invention and diſpoſition of their Poems.

The hiſtory of the *Argonautic* expedition, when clear'd from fable, ſeems only this. About the year 1268. before CHRIST, *Jaſon* with *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, and ſome other *Greeks*, having got *Argus*, an able ſhipwright for thoſe times, to build them a veſſel of conſiderable burden, that bore the builder's name in honour of his art, undertook an expedition to *Colchos*, in a kind of piracy, which was not counted diſhonourable in thoſe early times, when mankind had not yet learnt the juſt arts of peace and civil ſociety between one nation and another. After many adventures, and having eſcaped great dangers, they ſucceeded in their attempt, and by the directions and aſſiſtance of the treacherous *Medea*, brought away the treaſures they went for; and at the end of four years returned to *Jolchos* a port in *Theſſaly*, from whence they firſt ſet out.

Such a ſubject would naturally admit all the ornaments that a good invention was capable of giving it. But indeed the beauty of a well regulated deſign ſeems to have been ſtudied by few either Antients or Moderns. The language of the Gods was what the former chiefly aim'd at; by this they meant the ornaments of ſtyle and numbers, for which our Author claims his ſhare of praiſe, and if he has not maintained the ſame ſpirit thro' the whole, we muſt make ſome allowances, ſince he did not live to correct and finiſh it. His admirers think he wanted neither genius nor

diligence

diligence to have made it an excellent Poem, had death ſpar'd him: That conſidering the diſadvantage of the *Latin* to the *Greek*, *Apollonius* has been far from ſuffering where FLACCUS has ſeem'd to tranſlate him: That none of the ſpirit has been loſt in the transfuſion; and that he may be placed in the number of thoſe few Authors, whoſe copies have rival'd their originals.

As to his knowledge, FLACCUS is thought much ſuperior to the *Greek*, who has many geographical errors, and ſome which might argue that he was little acquainted either with hiſtory or philoſophy: Yet this *Apollonius* had the reputation of great learning. He was ſcholar to the Poet *Callimachus*, whom he ſucceeded in the care of the *Ptolomean* Library.

As this Poem of FLACCUS's is little known to the generality of readers, I ſhall here offer them the outlines of it, by which they will be better able to judge of the deſign and the diſpoſition. But firſt I muſt obſerve, that if *Apollonius* had not treated this ſubject before FLACCUS, he would have paſſed for a writer of much learning and ſkill in antiquity; whereas now we can hardly queſtion his owing the greateſt part of his knowledge to the *Greek*. But to our ſketch of the Poem:

PELIAS, after having dethroned his brother *Æſon*, reigned in *Hæmonia* and *Theſſaly*, but grew troubled in mind at many prodigies, which the Augurs ſaid, portended his deſtruction by *Jaſon*, *Æſon*'s ſon *Pelias* therefore ſtudied all means to get rid of this object of his Fear: *Greece* was now at peace; *Hercules* had ſubdued all the monſters that infeſted it. *Pelias* therefore reſolves to ſend his nephew upon an expedition to *Colchos*. The pretence of it, according to the Poet's legend, was this: *Athamas* the ſon of *Æolus*, and uncle to *Æſon* and *Pelias* had *Phrixus*, and *Helle* by his firſt wife *Nephele*: She being afterwards turn'd into a cloud, he married *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus*; who like a true ſtep-mother hating her huſband's children, perſuaded the women of the country (*Æolia*) to parch all the corn that had been laid up for ſeed.

The land being ſown with this ſeed, was barren, and a great famine enſued. *Ino* ſent ſome perſons, whom ſhe had bribed to her purpoſes, to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo*; who, according to their inſtructions, reported, that the God required that *Phrixus* and *Helle* ſhould be ſacrificed. *Athamas* for a long time refuſed to comply with ſo cruel an order, but at length was forced to ſubmit. Juſt as the children were going to be led to the altar, their own mother *Nephele* deſcending from the ſky, bids them fly, and gives them a ram with a Golden Fleece, that would bear them over the ſea: But *Helle* not ſitting faſt on the ram's back, was drowned in that part of the ſea which was called after her name. *Phrixus* came to *Colchos*, where he ſacrificed the ram in the temple of *Mars*, and not long after (as *Pelias* tells *Jaſon*) was treacherouſly murdered by *Æetes* King of *Colchos* and father of *Mædea*, in the height of a public entertainment. *Jaſon* ſoon perceived that his uncle's aim was his death, more than a deſire of revenge: However, relying on the protection of *Juno* and *Minerva*, whom he devoutly invokes, he undertakes the voyage. The Goddeſſes hear and grant his prayer; and whilſt *Juno* ſpreads the report of this bold adventure thro' the cities of *Greece*, to raiſe the ambition of other noble youths to accompany *Jaſon*; *Minerva* goes to *Argus*, whom ſhe directs to build the famous ſhip that bore his name. Then follows a poetical account of the ſeveral heroes that came to make the voyage with *Jaſon*, who craftily engages *Acaſtus* his uncle's ſon to go along with him. The *Argonauts* ſhip was built of the inſpired and prophetic oak of the *Dodonean* grove ſacred to *Jupiter*. The circumſtances of *Jaſon*'s taking his leave of his parents *Æſon* and *Alcimede*, is very pathetically deſcribed.

Now *Phœbus* begins to be in pain for the fate of the *Colchian* King his ſon, and addreſſes himſelf to *Jupiter* about him. That God's anſwer is fine and full of dignity. *Boreas* deſcrying the *Argonauts*, on their voyage, haſtens to inform *Æolus*, whoſe abode is deſcribed, and prevails with him to let out the other

winds,

winds, who all join and raiſe a furious ſtorm, which *Neptune* at the intreaty of *Juno* and *Minerva* appeaſes. In the mean time, *Pelias* diſcovering that his ſon was gone with *Jaſon*, enters into a tranſport of rage, and reſolves the death of *Æſon* and *Alcimede*. She performs infernal rites for the ſafety of her ſon *Jaſon*, and at the ſame time devotes *Pelias* to the Furies, whoſe aid ſhe invokes; and then drinking ſome of the blood of the victim with her huſband; the guards, whom *Pelias* had ſent to put them to death, find them both expiring: but not content with that, by the tyrant's order they murder their younger ſon before their eyes. Then the Poet deſcribes the ſituation of Hell, in which part there are ſome lines loſt. There is a deſcription left of the two gates, the one leading to *Tartarus*, and the other to *Elyzium*. The ſhades of *Æſon* and *Alcimede* are conveyed through the latter by *Mercury* to the regions of the bleſſed, who comforts them by the way with an account of the puniſhment that *Pelias* is doom'd to ſuffer for all his crimes. Here ends the firſt book; which I have been the longer about, as being obliged to explain ſome circumſtances at large, to make the narration of thoſe that follow clear and intelligible.

In the 2d book, the *Argonauts* are deſcribed ſailing by Mount *Oſſa* and *Pallene*, places famous for the battle of the Gods and Giants: thence they come to *Lemnos*. Here there is a long Epiſode of the *Lemnian* women, who murdered their huſbands at their return from the *Thracian* war, in which they had been abſent three years: only *Hypſipile* ſaved her father King *Thoas*'s life, and conveyed him away in the night-time by ſea in a ſmall veſſel. The Poet repreſents this cruel action as a contrivance of *Venus* to be revenged on *Vulcan*, to whom *Lemnos*, was ſacred, for having caught her in his net and expoſed her with *Mars*. That Goddeſs goes to *Fame*, and bids her inſpire the *Lemnian* women with a jealous fury againſt their huſbands; ſuggeſting that they had brought home other wives from *Thrace*. Then the Goddeſs being diſ-

guiſed, ſpeaks to the principal women, whom ſhe fills with that belief. The whole Epiſode is well managed, and the incidents finely prepared : But the Poet ſhould not have related it in his own perſon. But to proceed : The *Argonauts* land at *Lemnos* ; *Hypſipile* falls in love with *Jaſon*, who anſwers her deſires ; and the reſt of the *Argonauts* ſpend ſome time with the *Lemnian* women, 'till the ſtormy ſeaſon is paſt. *Hercules*, who had no paramour among the *Lemnians*, awakens them from this lethargy of love, and bids them make haſte to ſea. They ſail to *Troy*, where *Laomedon* reigned, and for his perjury to *Apollo* and *Neptune* was plagued by a ſea monſter : For to avert a plague that before afflicted the people, the Oracle of *Jupiter* had commanded that a virgin, by lot, ſhould every year be expoſed to the monſter to be devoured, and it was now fallen on the King's daughter. *Hercules* delivers the Princeſs, and kills the monſter ; but the ungrateful *Laomedon* propoſed to have murdered his gueſt and benefactor the ſame night. But the *Argonauts* purſued their voyage, and came to *Cyzicum* : which concludes the 2d book.

*Cyzicus* King of the country, after having kindly entertained the *Argonauts*, informs them that he was at war with the *Pelaſgians*. The *Argonauts* ſet ſail again, but by ſtreſs of weather are forced back in the night-time into the ſame port : ſo that the guards of the country miſtaking them for their enemies, the *Pelaſgians* begin a ſkirmiſh that proves fatal to both ſides, but chiefly to King *Cyzicus* and his people. Day-light diſcovers the miſtake, and the *Argonauts* celebrate with tears the funeral of the unfortunate King, and perform ſolemnn rites by the advice of the Prophet *Mopſus*, to appeaſe the ghoſts of their deceaſed friends and allies. In deſcribing theſe rites and ceremonies, the Poet ſeems to have affected to imitate *Virgil*'s exactneſs, whom he has very often in his eye. From thence the *Argonauts* ſail along the coaſt of *Myſia*, where *Hercules* and *Hylas* land. *Juno* here ſends *Minerva* to prepare the *Colchians* to receive the *Argonauts*

*nauts* in a friendly manner; *Minerva* goes, though ſhe knows it is but a pretence to get her out of the way. Then *Juno* contrives the loſs of *Hylas*, the favourite companion of *Hercules*: She tells *Dryope* a Wood Nymph, that a fine opportunity now offered of enjoying that lovely youth, which would make her the envy of all her ſiſter Nymphs: then ſhe raiſes a ſtag, that croſſes the wood juſt before *Hercules* and *Hylas*; the youth eagerly purſues the ſport, whilſt *Hercules* himſelf encourages him to it. At length the ſtag takes the water, of a fountain, where *Hylas* being fatigued drops the chaſe to bathe: Here the Nymph ſteals him away. The *Argonauts*, after ſome ſtay for *Hercules*, who went in ſearch of *Hylas*, are forced to ſail away without him.

The 4th book opens with *Jupiter*'s compaſſion for his ſon's ſorrows; and after having reproved *Juno*, he pours out a rich dew upon *Hercules*, which compoſes the Heroe to reſt. *Hylas* appears to him in a dream, and comforts him, and promiſes him immortality as the reward of his labours. At the requeſt of *Latona*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*, *Iris* is ſent to prevent *Hercules*'s going to *Troy*, and to bid him make haſte to deliver *Prometheus*, who had been ſo long confined and tormented on mount *Caucaſus* for ſtealing fire from heaven. In the mean time the *Argonauts* come to the *Bebrycian* coaſt, where *Amycus* the ſon of *Neptune* reigned: He was a cruel and inhoſpitable Prince, and being a great boxer, uſed to force every ſtranger that entered his dominions to fight him with the *Ceſtus*, and he had hitherto ſlain all that had engaged him. This the *Argonauts* are informed of by ſome of their company whom they ſent to diſcover the country, who had met with a ſtranger bewailing the loſs of his friend *Otreus*, whom *Amycus* had lately fought with and killed. *Pollux*, as yet but a ſtripling, preſents himſelf to fight the Tyrant, who inſults his youth and beauty, but after ſome reſiſtance is ſlain by the *Argonaut*. The ſhip now enters the *Boſphorus*, upon which the Poet takes occaſion to relate the ſtory of *Io*; who, being

persecuted by *Juno*, and passing over those seas, when she was transformed into a cow, had given them the name of *Bosphorus*. The *Argonauts* arrive at the *Thyanean* coast, where *Zethes* and *Calais* the sons of *Boreas* deliver *Phineus* from the persecution of the Harpies. Thence they sailed by the *Cyanean* rocks, so fatal to all that passed near them, but *Minerva* drives off the rocks, and saves the ship. Thence they proceed to the coast of the *Mariandyni*, where King *Lycus* of *Greek* original kindly entertains them, and congratulates them on their victory over *Amycus*, who had slain his brother.

The 5th book begins with a melancholy scene of the death of *Idmon* and *Typhys*, two of the *Argonauts*, the latter was their Pilot: The prophetic ship names *Erginus* to succeed him. As they proceed on their voyage, they pass under the rock where *Prometheus* was chained, and whom *Hercules* was then delivering: They hear the *Titan*'s cries, and soon after see the bird, that used to prey upon his liver, expiring on the shore. At length they arrive at *Colchos*, and sail up the river *Phasis*, where they find the monument which *Phrixus* had erected in memory of his sister *Helle*. Here *Jason* casts anchor, and having sacrificed to them both, implores their assistance in his undertaking.

The *Colchian* King is warned by many prodigies to restore the Golden Fleece: *Perses* his brother and all his counsellors had advised him to it; but *Æetes* having no regard to the happiness of his people, obstinately refuses, punishes some of the boldest, and even attempts to kill his brother, who had gained the love of the people, and was suspected to aspire to the crown. He saves his life by flight, and returns not long after with a great army, which he had raised among the neighbouring nations, against *Æetes*, and had already attacked the city, but was repulsed with loss; and a truce was agreed on for two days between the contending parties to bury their dead, at the time when the *Argonauts* landed. *Juno* and *Pallas*, tho' they foresee *Æetes*'s treachery, agree that the *Argonauts*

*nauts* ſhall aſſiſt him againſt *Perſes*, as being the weakeſt ſide.

Medea having had a frightful dream that night, went early the next morning to make the proper luſtrations in the river; where ſhe ſees the *Argonauts*, and taking them for enemies, was going to fly back; Her Nurſe aſſures her they are *Greeks*. *Juno* makes *Jaſon* appear with uncommon beauty and comelineſs; and comes up to *Medea*, whom he addreſſes in a very engaging manner, deſiring leave to ſpeak to the King. *Medea* ſends one of her attendants with *Jaſon*, to lead him to the court; They meet the King in the temple of *Apollo*, which the Poet deſcribes. *Jaſon*, in imitation of *Æneas* in *Virgil*, is deſcribed entering the city and temple, covered with a cloud by *Juno*. He diſcovers himſelf, acquaints *Æetes* with his errand, and offers ſome rich preſents to exchange for the Golden Fleece. The Tyrant conceals his rage at this requeſt, and with diſſembled friendſhip promiſes to give it, provided the *Argonauts* aſſiſt him firſt againſt the enemy that laid ſiege to the city.

Æetes now invites them to an entertainment, where he informs *Jaſon* of the cauſe of the war, and the character of his allies there preſent. Then the Poet deſcribes *Mars* in his progreſs from the northern regions, who is ſurpriſed to ſee the *Argonauts* at *Colchos*, and to hear that *Æetes* had promiſed to deliver them the Golden Fleece, which had been conſecrated to him. The furious God haſtens to complain to *Jupiter* of this wrong done him by *Minerva* and *Juno*; the former anſwers him. *Jupiter* puts an end to their diſpute, by acquainting them with his and *Fate*'s decree, and allows them ſeverally to take what ſide they pleaſed in the war. The book concludes with a deſcription of the entertainment of the Gods, where the Muſes ſing to *Apollo*'s harp; After which the aſſembly breaks up, and all retire to reſt.

The 6th book begins with *Mars*, who could take no reſt, but reſolves to deſtroy the *Argonauts* and their ſhip. *Perſes* being alarmed at the arrival of the *Greeks*,

deputes some persons to assure them of his good intentions towards them, and of *Æetes*'s treacherous temper, and to try to persuade them to join their forces with his *Scythians* against the *Colchian* King: but this was in vain. Here the forces of *Perses* are described: A bloody battle ensues, which is related at large: *Æetes* gets the advantage, which is entirely owing to the valour of the *Greeks*.

Juno, fearing *Æetes*'s baseness, finds no other way to get the Fleece for *Jason*, but by the enchantments of *Medea*. To secure her, she goes to *Venus*, and desires the use of her girdle to regain *Jupiter*'s love. *Venus* soon perceived this was but a pretence; but as she hated the children of the Sun, she readily lends her girdle. Furnished with this, *Juno* disguises her self like *Chalciope*, *Medea*'s sister; and blaming her want of curiosity, carries out *Medea* on the walls of the city, to view the *Greek* heroes fighting for her father: Among the rest they perceive *Jason* signalizing his valour. *Juno* never lets *Medea* lose sight of him, who pretending she did not know him, asks her counterfeit sister who that prodigy of valour was; *Juno* informs her of his quality and merit; Then bidding her observe him farther, the Goddess animates the Hero with unusual vigour. *Medea* feels a strange passion kindle in her, but is not able to resist the force of love. *Juno* now finding her sufficiently inflamed, leaves her alone; she grows very anxious for the success of *Jason*'s request to her Father. The battle goes against the *Scythians*, of whom the *Greeks* make a great slaughter. *Minerva* fearing *Jason* should kill *Perses*, whom *Jupiter* intended to set on the throne of *Colchos*, and thereby draw on him the indignation of that God, conveys *Perses* wrapp'd in a cloud, out of the battle to his camp; and *Medea* returns to the palace, never satisfied with beholding the *Thessalian* Hero; which ends the 6th book.

Medea spends the night in great anxiety; love and duty struggle and alternately prevail in her breast. The next morning the *Argonauts* begin to think of the Gol-

den

den Fleece, for which they had undergone ſo many labours; but before *Jaſon* demanded it, the *Colchian* King in a haughty manner tells him the hard terms by which it was to be obtained; namely, to ſow the field of *Mars* with the ſerpent's teeth, to charm the dragon that guarded the Fleece, and fight the men that would ſpring up from that ſeed. *Jaſon* reſolves to undertake it; *Medea* pities him, but for ſome time ſtruggles with her paſſion. *Juno*, to compleat her purpoſe, prevails with *Venus* to come to *Medea* in the diſguiſe of her aunt *Circe*. By this means the Goddeſs inſinuates her ſelf into the ſecret of *Medea*'s love, whom ſhe prompts to give way to it by her own example, who having left the barren plains of *Colchos*, was now, by her marriage with *Picus*, become Sovereign of *Latium* in *Italy*. Afterwards ſhe perſuades *Medea* to walk out that night, under pretence of a ſacrifice to *Diana*. She meets *Jaſon* in a grove, to which he went by *Juno*'s direction; He implores her protection and aſſiſtance, which at length ſhe grants him. Then *Medea* performs all the magical ceremonies neceſſary to arm him for the adventure, and gives him the proper inſtructions for his conduct, and then leads him to the field of *Mars*, which he ſows: The armed Men ſpring up, and by her inchantments turn their arms againſt each other, every one miſtaking his fellow for *Jaſon*.

The 8th book begins with *Medea*'s laſt ſtruggle between love, and duty, and remorſe for what ſhe had already done; but Love prevailing, ſhe renews her enchantments, and meets her Heroe, whom *Juno* had made exceeding beautiful, in the place where the dragon guarded the Golden Fleece. Here the two lovers enter into ſolemn engagements of mutual fidelity, and *Medea* agrees to accompany *Jaſon*, whom ſhe now calls her huſband, into *Theſſaly*. As they come near the tree, *Jaſon* is terrified by the fire which flaſhed from the dragon's eyes. *Medea* having in vain endeavoured to ſooth him to reſt, promiſing to watch the Fleece for him, has recourſe to her ſpells, and charms him into a dead ſleep; then bids *Jaſon* climb up by the dragon's back

into the tree where the Fleece hung; which he takes down, and haftens away in triumph with that and *Medea* to the fhip. The *Argonauts* fet fail. *Æetes* is foon informed of his daughter's treachery and flight. *Abfyrtus* her brother, and *Styrus* a *Scythian* Prince, *Medea*'s deftined hufband, fit out fome fhips, and purfue them, and overtake the *Argonauts* feafting afhore at the mouth of the *Danube*, and folemnizing the Nuptials of *Jafon* and *Medea*. *Juno*, to deliver them from the prefent danger, raifes a ftorm, which feparates them; but *Styrus*, who being blinded by his love for *Medea* ftrove to bear up againft the ftorm, is caft away. When it was over, the *Argonauts* foon defcried the enemy again: then they begin to murmur againft *Medea*, and exhort *Jafon* not to expofe them all to ruin for her fake. She foon difcovers their defign, and fpeaks of it to *Jafon* with indignation: juft where *Jafon* is defcribed as ftudying fome dubious anfwer to gain time, as being yet irrefolute what to do, the Poem abruptly breaks off.

It is very probable the Author lived to go no farther. *Baptifta Pius* an *Italian* has tranflated the reft from *Apollonius*, and added it to Flaccus's Poem; to which we muft refer the Reader for the reft of the ftory, fince it is proper this fketch fhould end where Flaccus breaks off, as being only intended to fhew his manner of treating this fubject.

I think we may allow him to have been mafter of fome invention, and much fpirit. Though his Poem is thus hiftorically conducted, it is fuller of machinery than the *Æneis*. An affectation of the marvellous runs through the whole. The manners are not ill expreffed, and the characters well diftinguifhed and various: They are not very moral indeed, nor polite; neither of which could be expected of fo barbarous an age as that in which this event happened, which may partly excufe the fabulous air and turn of the whole narration. All time before this in the *Greek* Hiftory, is confeffedly fabulous and obfcure! and this *Æpocha* bordering upon thofe dark ages, has partaken of their

fate

fate ſo far, that the very Hiſtorians in treating of it, have inſerted many ſeeming fables in their accounts.

But in order to diſcover *Flaccus*'s genius with regard to the ſtyle and ſentiments, we muſt quote ſome paſſages of his Poem; and where he has *Virgil* in view, it may not be improper to ſubjoin thoſe paſſages of the *Æneid*, which he has imitated. We ſhall find his ſtyle in the main noble and poetical, though not equally kept up, his deſcriptions ſtrong and full, and his compariſons apt and lively. The firſt that offers is an elegant deſcription of the *Æolian* Iſlands, the ſuppoſed ſeat of the Winds.

*Æquore Trinacrio refugique a parte Pelori*
*Stat rupes horrenda fretis, quot in æthera ſurgit*
*Molibus, infernas totidem demiſſa ſub undas:*
*Nec ſcopulos aut antra minor juxta altera tellus*
*Cernitur; illam Achamas habitat, nuduſque Pyragmon.*
*Has Nimbi, ventique domos, & naufraga ſervat*
*Tempeſtas: hinc in terras latumque profundum*
*Eſt iter: hinc olim ſoliti miſcere polumque*
*Infelixque fretum (neque enim tunc Æolus illis*
*Rector erat) Libyâ cum rumperet advena Calpen*
*Oceanus, cum flens Siculos OEnotria fines*
*Perderet, & mediis intrarent montibus undæ,*
*Intonuit donec pavidis ex æthere Ventis*
*Omnipotens, regemque dedit, quem juſſa vereri*
*Sæva cohors in monte; chalybs iterataque muris*
*Saxa domant Euros. Cum jam prohibere frementum*
*Ora nequit Rex, tunc aditus & clauſtra refringit,*
*Ipſe volens, placatque data fera murmura porta.*

Encompaſs'd by *Sicilian* Seas, appears
A riſing rock, that to *Pelorus* bears;
Its bottom deep beneath the waves extends
Far as its ſummit to the clouds aſcends:
Hard by another rears its craggy brow,
Whoſe cliffs and caves can equal horrors ſhow.
In that *Pyracmon* feeds Vulcanian fires,
To this the ſtormy train of Winds retires:

Hence

Hence to the earth, and o'er the ſpreading deep
They wing their way, and with deſtruction ſweep:
Hence unreſtrain'd of old their fury wrought,
And to the ſkies the ſwelling billows brought;
No *Æolus* as yet controul'd their Pow'r;
Then *Calpe* rent from *Libya*'s parting ſhore,
Admitted the *Atlantic*'s pouring tide;
Then firſt *Trinacria* from *Italia*'s ſide
Dividing, felt the laſhing ſurges bound,
'Till *Jove* impatient hurl'd his thunder round;
The Winds retir'd aſtoniſh'd and confin'd
Their King obey'd, whom he in wrath aſſign'd
Within their iron priſon cloſely pent,
Where adamantine rocks reſtrain their vent.
When loud for liberty his ſubjects call,
The God himſelf unbars the gloomy Hall;
Then ceaſe their murmurs, and they iſſue forth
Tempeſts and ſtormy winds, led by the furious North.
Lib. 1. Ver. 579.

*Virgil* had occaſion, one would have thought, to have dwelt as largely on ſuch a deſcription of the Winds; and yet we find him thus contracting many great images into the compaſs of a few lines.

*Nimborum in patriam, loca fœta furentibus Auſtris*
*Æoliam venit: hic vaſto rex Æolus antro*
*Luctantes ventos, tempeſtateſque ſonoras*
*Imperio premit, ac vinclis & carcere fræn at.*
*Illi indignantes magno cum murmure, montis*
*Circum clauſtra fremunt: Celſa ſedet Æolus arce*
*Sceptra tenens, mollitque animos & temperat iras.*
*Ni faciat, maria ac terras cœlumque profundum*
*Quippe ferant rapidi ſecum, verrantque per auras:*
*Sed pater hoc metuens ſpeluncis abdidit atris*
*Omnipotens; molemque & montes inſuper altos*
*Impoſuit, regemque dedit, qui fœdere certo*
*Et premere, & laxas ſciret dare juſſus habenas.*
Lib. 1. Ver. 55.

The

The reſtleſs regions of the ſtorms ſhe ſought;
Where in a ſpacious cave of living ſtone
The Tyrant *Æolus* from his airy throne,
With pow'r imperial curbs the ſtruggling Winds,
And ſounding Tempeſts in dark priſons binds;
This way and that th' impatient captives tend,
And preſſing for releaſe, the mountains rend;
High in his Hall th'undaunted Monarch ſtands,
And ſhakes his ſcepter, and their rage commands;
Which did he not, their unreſiſted ſway
Would ſweep the world before them in their way;
Earth, Air and Seas through empty ſpace would roll,
And Heav'n would fly before the driving ſoul,
In fear of this, the Father of the Gods
Confin'd their fury to thoſe dark abodes,
And lock'd 'em ſafe within, oppreſs'd with mountain loads;
Impos'd a King, with arbitrary ſway,
To loſe their fetters, or their force allay.

*Dryden.*

*Alcimede*'s Imprecation againſt *Pelias* is very ſolemn, and a fine imitation of *Dido*'s againſt *Æneas* in *Virgil*. *Alcimede* ſpeaks ſome lines before thoſe here quoted; but as they ſeem rather introductory to, than a part of the Imprecation it ſelf, I choſe to omit them ?

——*Tu Nuncia fontum*
*Virgo Jovi, terras oculis quæ proſpicis æquis;*
*Ultriceſque Deæ: Faſque, & grandæva ſororum*
*Pœna parens, meritis Regis ſuccedite tectis,*
*Et ſævas inferte faces. Sacer effera raptet*
*Corda pavor; nec ſola mei gravia aſſore nati*
*Arma ratemque putet: claſſeſque & Pontica ſigna*
*Atque indignatos temerato littore reges*
*Mente agitet, ſemperque metu deducat ad undas*
*Arma ciens; mors fera viam, tentataque claudat*
*Effugia, & noſtras nequeat præcurrere diras.*
*Sed reduces jam jamque viros, auroque coruſcum*
*Cernat iter: ſtabo inſultans, & ovantia contra*
*Ora, manuſque feram: Tum vobis ſiquid inauſum*

*Arcanumque*

*Arcanumque nefas, & adhuc incognita Leti*
*Sors superest, date fallaci pudibunda senectæ*
*Exitia, indecoresque obitus, non marte, nec armis,*
*Aut nati precor ille mei dignatus ut unquam*
*Ense cadat, quem fida manus, quem cura suorum*
*Diripiat laceretque senem: nec membra sepulchro*
*Contegat: hæc noster de rege piacula sanguis*
*Sumat, & heu cunctæ quas misit in æquora Gentes.*
Lib. 1. Ver. 794.

Just Goddess, whose impartial eye beholds,
Whose care, to *Jove* all human crimes unfolds;
Ye Deities of vengeance, and thou first
Parent of Furies, Punishment accurst,
On *Pelias*, arm'd with all your brands, attend,
And thro' his soul your quickest terrors send;
Nor let his mind distemper'd only fear
My Son's approach, or think his *Argo* near;
Th' assembled pow'rs of *Colchis* let him dread,
And *Pontic* Hosts stand threatening o'er his head.
His rest let wars alarms successive break,
Let death refuse that ease his torments seek.
These Curses may he not escape, but see
*Jason* return with Golden Victory.
Then will I stand insulting by his side,
His pain my joy, his misery my pride;
If any plagues untry'd remain in store,
On his curst head the plenteous anguish pour.
May want and infamy bring on his fate,
And Death most horrid his old age await,
Let him not fall by arms in Honour's field,
Or by my Son, but to black treason yield
His hated life, his corps deny'd a grave;
Such vengeance may our race on *Pelias* have,

*Dido*'s Imprecation in the 4th book of the *Æneis* runs thus;

*Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,*
*Tuque harum interpres curarum, & conscia Juno;*
*Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,*

*Et*

*At Diræ ultrices, & Dij morientis Elisæ;*
*Accipite hæc, meritumque malis advertite numen,*
*Et nostras audite preces: si tangere portus*
*Infandum caput, ac terris adnare necesse est;*
*Et, si fata Jovis poscunt, his terminus hæret.*
*At bello audacis populi vexatus & armis,*
*Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli*
*Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna suorum*
*Funera: nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquæ*
*Tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur.*
*Sed cadat ante diem, mediaque inhumatus arena.*
*Hæc precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.*
*Tum vos, O Tyrij, stirpem & genus omne futurum,*
*Exercete odijs, cinerique hæc mittite nostro*
*Munera; nullus amor populis. nec fœdera sunto.*
*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*
*Qui face Dardanios, ferroque sequare Colonos,*
*Nunc, olim, quocunque dabunt se tempore vires;*
*Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas*
*Imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotes.*
Ver. 607.

Thou Sun, who view'ſt at once the world below,
Thou *Juno*, guardian of the nuptial vow,
Thou *Hecat*, hearken from thy dark abodes;
Ye furies, fiends, and violated Gods,
All pow'rs invok'd with *Dido*'s dying breath,
Attend her curſes, and avenge her death.
If ſo the *Fates* ordain and *Jove* commands,
Th' ungrateful wretch ſhould find the *Latian* lands;
Yet let a race untam'd and haughty foes
His peaceful entrance with dire Arms oppoſe;
Oppreſs'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men diſcourag'd, and himſelf expell'd,
Let him for ſuccour ſue from place to place,
Torn from his ſubjects and his ſon's embrace:
Firſt let him ſee his friends in battle ſlain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain:
And when at length the cruel war ſhall ceaſe,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace.

Nor

Nor let him then enjoy ſupreme command,
But fall untimely by ſome hoſtile hand;
And lie unbury'd on the barren ſand!
Theſe are my pray'rs, and this my dying will,
And you, my *Tyrians*, every curſe fulfil;
Perpetual hate and mortal wars proclaim
Againſt the prince, the people and the name:
Theſe grateful off'rings on my grave beſtow,
Nor league, nor love, the hoſtile nations know.
Now and from hence in every future age,
When rage excites your arms, and ſtrength ſupplies the rage,
Riſe ſome avenger of our *Libyan* blood,
With fire and ſword purſue the perjur'd brood:
Our arms, our ſeas, our ſhores oppos'd to theirs,
And the ſame hate deſcend on all our heirs.

*Dryden.*

THE deſcription FLACCUS gives of the two gates, one leading to *Tartarus*, the other to *Elyzium*, is very poetical. That ſeat of the bleſſed is likewiſe well deſcribed: both are imitated from the 6th book of the *Æneid*.

*Stant geminæ æternum portæ, quarum altera dura*
*Semper lege patens, populus regeſque receptat.*
*Aſt aliam tentare nefas & tendere contra;*
*Rara & ſponte patet, ſi quando pectore Ductor*
*Vulnera nota gerens galeis præfixa rotiſque*
*Cui domus, aut ſtudium, mortales pellere curas,*
*Culta fides, longe metus, atque ignota cupido:*
*Seu venit in vittis, caſtaque in veſte ſacerdos:*
*Quos omnes, lenis plantis & lampada quaſſans*
*Progenies Atlantis agit: lucet via late*
*Igne Dei, donec ſilvas & amœna piorum*
*Deveniat, campoſque ubi Sol, totumque per annum*
*Durat aprica dies, thyaſique chorique virorum,*
*Carminaque & quorum populis jam nulla cupido.*

Lib. I. Ver. 833.

Two different Gates lead to the realms below,
Kings and their ſubjects undiſtinguiſh'd go

Thro'

Thro' the wide portals of the common Gate;
The other opens not, unlefs by Fate
For fome brave Shade ordain'd, who greatly dy'd
In Honour's caufe, to anceftors ally'd
Of higheft worth; one ftudious to appear
A friend to men, devoid of guilt or fear;
Or Prieft unftain'd, with holy fillets bound;
Such *Hermes* leads; whofe waving torch around
Spreads a clear light along the facred way;
'Till to the regions of eternal day
They come defcending, where thro' flow'ry plains
Or fhady groves they pafs to meet the fwains,
Bleft Choir! that finging with their wands advance,
And greeting bid him join the chearful dance,
And all the joys that in thofe realms abound;
But among mortals here can ne'er be found.

The two Ways are thus fpoken of by the Sybil in *Virgil:*

*Hic locus eft, partes ubi fe via findit in ambas:*
*Dextra, quæ Ditis magni fub mœnia tendit,*
*Hâc iter Elyzium nobis; at læva malorum*
*Exercet pœnas, & ad impia tartara mittit.*
Lib. 6. Ver. 638.

'Tis here in different Paths the Way divides;
The Right to *Pluto*'s golden Palace guides;
The Left to that unhappy Region tends,
Which to the depth of *Tartarus* defcends
The feat of night profound, and punifh'd fiends.

*Elyzium* he defcribes as follows, with the Pleafures of the Place;

*Devenêre locos lætos, & amœna vireta*
*Fortunatorum nemorum, fedefque beatas.*
*Largior hic campos Æthæer, & lumine veftit*
*Purpureo: folemque fuum, fua fidera norunt.*
*Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæftris;*
*Contendunt ludo, & fulva luctantur arena;*
*Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, & carmina dicunt.*
Lib. 6. Ver. 638.

These

These holy Rites perform'd, they took their way,
Where long extended plains of pleasure lay;
The verdant fields with those of Heav'n may vie,
With Æther vested and a purple Sky:
The blissful seats of happy souls below,
Stars of their own, and their own suns they know.
Their airy limbs in sports they exercise,
And on the green contend the wrestler's prize;
Some in heroic verse divinely sing,
Others in artful measures lead the ring.

The Inhabitants are thus described by the same great Genius;

*Hic manus, ob Patriam pugnando vulnera passi;*
*Quique sacerdotes casti dum vita manebat,*
*Quique pij vates, & Phœbo digna locuti,*
*Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,*
*Quique sui memores alios fecêre merendo:*
*Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora Vitta.*
Ver. 660.

Here Patriots live, who for their country's good
In fighting fields were prodigal of blood;
Priests of unblemish'd lives here make abode;
And Poets worthy their inspiring God;
And searching Wits of more mechanic parts,
Who grac'd their age with new invented arts;
Those who to worth their bounty did extend,
And those who knew that bounty to commend;
The heads of these with holy fillets bound,
And all their temples were with garlands crown'd.
*Dryden.*

Flaccus in the beginning of the second book gives a description of *Fame*, which languishes when compared with the fine original in the 4th book of the *Æneis*. *Juno* is represented as descending to *Fame*.

*——Dea se piceo per sudum turbida nimbo*
*Præcipitat, Famamque vagam vestigat in umbra:*

*Quam*

*Quam pater omnipotens digna atque indigna canentem,*
*Spargentemque metus, placidis regionibus arcet*
*Ætheris; illa fremens habitat ſub nubibus imis.*
*Non Erebi, non Diva poli, terraſque fatigat*
*Quâ datur. Audentem primi ſpernuntque foventque;*
*Mox omnes agit, & motis quatit oppida linguis.*
*Talem Diva ſibi ſceleriſque dolique miniſtram*
*Quærit avens. Videt illa prior, jamque advolat ultro*
*Impatiens; jamque ora parat, jam ſuſcitat aures.*
Lib. 2. Ver. 115.

Wrap'd in a pitchy cloud the Goddeſs came
To the dark manſions of uncertain *Fame.*
In Heav'n ſhe dwelt, till *Jove* obſerv'd her tongue
In ev'ry tale confounding right and wrong,
And ſpreading cauſeleſs fears, he bid her dwell
On Earth alone, excluded Heav'n and Hell.
Enrag'd at this diſgrace, all Earth ſhe fills
With wild reports portending various ills.
Contempt diſcourages her firſt eſſays,
Repeated trials turn that ſcorn to praiſe,
Increaſing thus ſhe drives the croud along,
Till mighty States o'erturn'd fall by her murd'ring
tongue.
Such aid ſought *Juno* to her crafty aim
Of miſchief ſtudious, fit employ for *Fame*;
Who ſpy'd the Goddeſs, and advancing play'd
Her wings impatient; then attentive ſtay'd
With tongue prepar'd the rumour wide to ſpread.

SEE with what ſuperior ſkill *Virgil* has painted the ſame imaginary being:

*Fama, malum, quâ non aliud velocius ullum*
*Mobilitate viget, vireſque acquirit eundo:*
*Parva metu primo, mox ſeſe attollit in auras,*
*Ingrediturque ſolo, & caput inter nubila condit.*
*Illam terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,*
*Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo, Enceladoque ſororem*
*Progenuit, pedibus celerem, & pernicibus alis,*
*Monſtrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot ſunt corpore plumæ*

*Tot*

*Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,*
*Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures.*
*Nocte volat, cæli medio, terræque per umbram*
*Stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno.*
*Luce sedet custos, aut summi culmine tecti,*
*Turribus aut altis, & magnas territat urbes;*
*Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuncia veri.*
Lib. 4. Ver. 174.

*Fame*, the great ill, from small beginning grows;
Swift from the first; and every moment brings
New vigour to her flights, new pinions to her wings.
Soon grows the pigmy to gigantic size,
Her feet on earth, her forehead in the skies:
Enrag'd against the Gods, revengeful Earth
Produc'd her, last of the *Titanean* birth.
Swift in her walk, more swift her winged haste;
A monstrous phantom, horrible and vast;
As many plumes, as raise her lofty flight,
So many piercing Eyes enlarge her sight;
Millions of opening mouths to *Fame* belong,
And ev'ry mouth is furnish'd with a tongue;
And round with list'ning ears the flying plague is hung.
She fills the peaceful universe with cries;
No slumbers ever close her wakeful eyes.
By day from lofty tow'rs her head she shews,
And spreads through trembling crowds disast'rous news;
With Court Informers haunts, and Royal Spies;
Things done relates, not done she feigns, and mingles truth with lies.
Talk is her business; and her chief delight
To tell of prodigies, and cause affright.

*Dryden.*

In the same book, the description of *Hypsipile*'s growing love for *Jason*, is formed upon the model of *Dido*'s for *Æneas*.

*Præcipueque ducis casus mirata requirit*
*Hypsipile, quæ fata trahant, quæ regis agat vis:*

*Aut*

*Aut unde Hæmoniæ molem ratis, unius hæret*
*Alloquio, & blandos paulatim colligit ignes,*
*Jam non dura thoris, Veneri nec iniqua reversæ.*
Lib. 2. Ver. 351.

But *Jason*'s fortunes most the Queen admires,
Which way his course, what King his foe inquires;
Their ship what art contriv'd, would gladly hear
The Heroe tell, whose converse grows her care.
Love's subtle poison steals into her breast:
By that prevailing passion now possest,
She does no more the nuptial vow detest.

*Nec non & vario noctem sermone trahebat*
*Infelix Dido, longumque bibebat Amorem;*
*Multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa.*
Æneid. Lib. 1. Ver. 752.

Th' unhappy Queen with talk prolong'd the night,
And drank large draughts of love with vast delight:
Of *Priam* much enquir'd, of *Hector* more. *Dryden.*

In the same book *Jason* called away from his Love by the reproaches of *Hercules*, is finely compared to a Horse rous'd to battle by the sound of the trumpet.

*Haud secus Æsonides monitis accensus amaris*
*Quam Bellator equus longa quem frigida pace*
*Terra juvat brevis, in lævos piger angitur orbes;*
*Fræna tamen Dominumque velit, si martius aures*
*Clamor & obliti rursus fragor impleat Æris.*
Lib. 2. Ver. 385.

The sharp reproof his sinking courage rais'd,
Like as the warrior horse unnerv'd by ease
Seeks the soft path, and snuffs the cooling breeze;
Avoids the course, and fears the checking rein;
If wars alarm once more disturb the plain,
Soon as he hears the martial trumpet sound,
Loud for his rider neighs, and spurns the ground.

In the 3d book the Prophet *Mopsus* explains to the *Argonauts* the doctrines of the soul's immortality and

perception after death, agreeably to the *Pythagorean* Philosophy.

*——— Non si mortalia membra*
*Sortitusque breves, & parvi tempora fati*
*Perpetimur, socius superi quondam ignis Olympi;*
*Fas ideo miscere neces, ferroque morantes*
*Exigere hinc animas, redituraque semina Cœlo.*
*Quippe nec in ventos, nec in ultima solvimur ossa.*
*Ira manet, duratque dolor: cum deinde tremendi*
*Ad solium venere Jovis, questuque nefandum*
*Edocuere necem, patet illis janua leti,*
*Atque iterum remeare licet: comes una sororum*
*Additur, & pariter terras atque æquora lustrant.*
*Quisque suos sontes inimicaque pectora pœnis*
*Implicat, & varia meritos formidine pulsant,*
Lib. 3. Ver. 378.

Tho' this frail body yielding soon decays,
And a short period terminates our days,
And souls immortal are to Heav'n ally'd;
Yet may we not with murd'ring hand divide
Souls from their Bodies; for the Souls aspire
To join their parent, pure ætherial fire.
They neither perish, nor disperse in Air;
But mindful of their wrongs, to *Jove* they bear
Their just complaint, at whose tremendous throne
Their death injurious, they aloud bemoan.
His leave earth to revisit they obtain,
The furies horrid sisters join the train,
There range about each guilty foe to find,
And fill with terrors his distracted mind.

In the 4th book, *Hylas*, after he had been stolen away from *Hercules*, appears to him in a dream, and after having satisfied him of his present condition, and encouraged him to continue his Labours, the fruits of which he should soon reap in a glorious immortality, disappears. The following comparison is finely introduced to illustrate the Hero's behaviour on this occasion.

*Talibus*

*Talibus orantem dictis, visuque fruentem*
*Ille ultro petit, & vacuis amplexibus instat,*
*Languentisque movet frustra conamina dextræ;*
*Corpus hebet somno refugaque eluditur umbra*
*Tum lachrymis tum voce sequi, tum rumpere questus,*
*Dum sopor & vano spes mæsta resolvitur actu:*
*Fluctus ab undisoni ceu forte crepidine saxi*
*Cum rapit Alcyonis miseræ fœtumque laremque*
*It super ægra parens, queriturque, tumentibus undis,*
*Certa sequi quocunque ferant; audetque pavetque,*
*Icta fatiscit aquis donec domus, haustaque fluctu est.*
*Illa dolens vocem dedit & se sustulit alis.*

Lib. 4. Ver. 38.

The shade thus speaking seem'd with joy to view
The Heroe, who with eager transport flew
To his embrace; his arms he stretch'd in vain
To clasp the phantom, that still mock'd his pain;
By sleep o'erpower'd, the languid motion falls,
*Hylas*, with tears and soft complaints he calls.
At length the workings of his troubled breast
Join'd to those efforts, interrupt his rest.
So when the dashings of the cruel deep
Down from the rock the Halcyon's nestlings sweep,
Th' afflicted mother follows o'er the flood,
Now fearless, trembling now, her hapless brood;
'Till the frail nest admits the fatal wave,
It sinks; she leaves, lamenting, what she cannot save.

At the feast of the *Argonauts*, after *Pollux* had slain *Amycus*, *Orpheus* sings the fable of *Io*. There are some circumstances in Flaccus, which *Ovid* had not touch'd upon; Such is the following. As *Io* was coming for refuge into *Ægypt*, *Juno* sent *Tysiphone* to keep her from entering that country; but the River *Nile* swelling his stream overwhelms the *Fury*, and delivers *Io* from her persecution. This is nobly expressed by the Poet.

——*Erebi virgo ditem volat æthere Memphim*
*Præripere, & Phariâ venientem pellere terrâ*
*Contra Nilus adest, & toto gurgite torrens*

 *Tysiphonen*

*Tysiphonen agit, atque imis illidit arenis;*
*Ditis opem & sævi clamantem numina Regni.*
Lib. 4. Ver. 407.

Swift flew the Fiend to reach the *Memphian* strand,
Where *Io* she forbids the *Pharian* land.
The friendly *Nil*, now moved with pity, strove
In *Io*'s cause, with tide impetuous drove
The Fury down, and plung'd her in the deep;
Then dash'd the monster on the sandy sweep,
In vain Hell's pow'rs invoking to her aid.

The description of the Harpies is happily imitated from *Virgil*. *Phineus*, whom they were sent to torment for his having discover'd the secrets of *Jupiter*, thus describes them to the *Argonauts*.

——*Harpyæ semper mea pabula servant,*
*Fallere quas nunquam misero locus; ilicet omnes*
*Deveniunt, niger intorto ceu turbine nimbus,*
*Jamque alis procul & sonitu mihi noto Celæno:*
*Diripiunt, verruntque dapes, fœdataque turbant*
*Pocula: sævit odor, surgitque miserrima pugna.*
*Parque mihi monstrisque fames. Sprevere quod omnes*
*Polluerintque manu, quodque unguibus excidit atris*
*Has mihi fert in luce moras.* Lib. 4. Ver. 450.

My daily food the Harpies watching spy,
No place, no art conceals it from their eye;
Swift as the whirlwind unexpected down
The monsters pour, and seize it as their own;
First dire *Celæno* flaps her sooty wings,
O'erturns the table, cups and dishes flings
All on a heap confus'd, then taints the air
With stench obscene, and kindles horrid war.
Our hunger seems alike, yet none I taste
But what their filthy talons drop thro' haste.
Such scraps a wretched life with pain support.

*Virgil* had thus described them and their dwelling;

——*Strophades Grajo stant nomine dictæ*
*Insulæ in Ionio magno: quas dira Celæno,*

*Harpyiæque colunt aliæ: Phineia postquam*
*Clausa domus, mensasque metu liquére priores,*
*Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec sævior ulla*
*Pestis, & ira Deûm Stygiis sese extulit undis.*
*Virginei volucrum vultus, fœdissima ventris*
*Proluvies, uncæque manus, & pallida semper*
*Ora fame.*—— Æneid. Lib. 3. Ver. 210.

Those Isles are compass'd by the *Ionian* main,
The dire abode where the foul Harpies reign:
Forc'd by the winged warriors to repair
To their old homes, and leave their costly fare.
Monsters more fierce offended Heav'n ne'er sent
From Hell's abyss for human punishment.
With virgin faces, but with wombs obscene,
Foul paunches, and with ordure still unclean;
With claws for hands, and looks for ever lean.
*Dryden.*

THEIR coming to disturb the *Trojans* and devour their meat, is as follows in the same book.

——*Subitæ horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt*
*Harpiæ, & magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,*
*Diripiuntque dapes, contactuque omnia fœdant*
*Immundo, tum vox tetrum dira inter odorem.*
Lib. 4. Ver. 225.

When from the mountain tops, with hideous cry
And clatt'ring wings, the hungry Harpies fly;
They snatch the meat, defiling all they find,
And parting leave a loathsome stench behind.
*Dryden.*

AND as *Helenus* in *Virgil* directs *Æneas* in his voyage by Prophecy, so here *Phineus* who was a Prophet, instructs the *Argonauts* in their course in gratitude to the sons of *Boreas*, who had delivered him from the Harpies.

The 5th and 6th books have not many passages that deserve to be distinguished from the rest; the speeches of the Gods, which are very frequent in this Poem and particularly in these books, cannot seem very en-

tertaining to us, who can never be brought to reconcile the tumultuous passions of weak Men to the character of Divinity. But we cannot blame FLACCUS for a fault chargeable on the Heathen Theology that could suppose such Absurdities, to call it by no worse a name.

As the antient Heroes were supposed to be descended from some God, not one of them can die, but some Deity must lament his death; and even *Jupiter* is afraid to save one of his descendants in the battle, lest the other Gods, who had already complained of the severity of his decrees, should murmur more at his partiality. It was *Colaxes* a *Scythian* Prince, for whom *Jupiter* is represented thus concerned; and whose bravery and success, 'till he meets *Jason* by whom he is destined to be slain, is very elegantly compared to a torrent that carries all before it, 'till it dashes with a precipitate fall down the side of a mountain, and turns into a river.

*Hei mihi! si duræ natum subducere sorti*
*Molior, atque meis ausim confidere Regnis,*
*Frater adhuc Amyci mæret nece, cunctaque Divûm*
*Turba fremunt, quorum nati cecidere cadentque.*
*Quin habeat sua quemque dies, cunctisque negabo*
*Quæ mihi supremos misero sic fatus honores*
*Congerit, atque animis moriturum ingentibus implet.*
*Ille volat campis, immensaque funera miscet*
*Per cuneos, velut hyberno proruptus ab arcu*
*Imber agens scopulos, nemorumque operumque ruinas,*
*Donec ab ingenti bacchatus vertice montis*
*Frangitur, inque novum paullatim deficit amnem.*
Lib. 6. Ver. 624.

Should I defer my son's impending fate,
And claim the pow'r of my almighty state,
Full many a valiant ghost reluctant dies,
And all the Gods with clamour rend the skies,
Whose race divine is here profusely slain,
And more shall yet lie bleeding on the plain.

But

But 'tis decreed, let Man his period have,
None ſhall defend whom *Jove* denies to ſave.
This ſaid, he rais'd his ſon's collected fame,
And o'er his breaſt diffus'd a martial flame,
With full renown to grace his parting breath,
And urge him forward to a glorious death.
Fierce thro' the ranks the ardent warrior goes,
And rages wide amidſt his ſlaughter'd foes.
Thus from the Rainbow with impetuous pow'r
Burſts the wild fury of ſome wint'ry ſhow'r;
With waſteful noiſe deſcends the ſweeping flood,
Drives the huge rocks, and tears the bending wood;
'Till ruſhing down ſome craggy mountain's ſide,
In a new river foams the rolling tide.

The firſt part of the compariſon alludes to that of *Virgil:*

*——Rapidus montano flumine torrens*
*Sternit agros, ſternit ſata læta, boumque labores,*
*Præcipiteſque trahit ſilvas——*

Æneid. Lib. 2. Ver. 305.

Not with ſo fierce a rage the foaming flood
Roars when he finds his rapid courſe withſtood;
Bears down the dams with unreſiſted ſway,
A ſweeps the Cattle and the Cots away.

*Dryden.*

In the 7th book, *Juno* diſguiſed like *Chalciope*, *Medea*'s ſiſter, leads her out to the walls to ſee the battle. This is done in imitation of *Homer*, who brings out *Andromache* on the like occaſion. Here Flaccus ſeems very fond of machinery. *Juno* had borrowed the charms and enchanting girdle of *Venus* in order to inſpire *Medea* with love for *Jaſon:* But then not ſatisfied with her own endeavours, ſhe deſires *Venus* to go in perſon to compleat the work and protect *Jaſon*. Why, as in *Virgil*, could not *Juno* at firſt have left it to *Venus*, as the fitteſt perſon to manage a Love Intrigue? To do more is ſuperfluous; but this is not yet enough: *Iris* is charged to be obe-

dient to the orders of *Venus*, who ſends her to *Jaſon* to bid him meet *Medea* at the temple of *Diana*. In the mean time *Juno* ſits on mount *Caucaſus* very ſollicitous about the event, of which the Poet repreſents her as altogether ignorant.

*——Caucaſeis ſpeculatrix Juno reſedit*
*Rupibus, attonitos Æaea in mœnia vultus*
*Speque metuque tenens, & adhuc ignara futuri.*
Lib. 7. Ver. 190.

On the high rock of *Caucaſus* the Queen
Of Heav'n with hopes and fear perplex'd was ſeen
Watching, her eyes fixt on th' *Æean* gate,
As yet a ſtranger to the will of Fate.

I ſhall quote no more examples, the aforeſaid may ſuffice to point out ſome of his beauties as well as his faults. It cannot be denied but that a ſpirit of true Poetry reigns thro' the whole, tho' not alike kept up in all the parts; to do which required the judgment of riper years than FLACCUS attained to, who is ſuppoſed not to have much out-lived thirty. If he is not ſo wiſe a man, he ſeems to be a better Poet than *Lucan*, and has more fire than *Silius Italicus*; and his ſtile, tho' not ſo magnificent, is more correct than that of *Statius*. He has profeſſedly imitated *Virgil*, and often does it in a noble and happy manner; and is in general far from deſerving to be ſo much neglected as he has been in compariſon of other Poets no ways ſuperior to him, either for their matter, ſtile, or verſification.

THE

# THE

# LIFE

OF

# Caius Silius Italicus.

CAIUS SILIUS ITALICUS descended of the antient and noble family of the *Silii*, and perhaps the grandson of that *C. Silius*, who was a third time Consul when *Augustus* made his will the year before his death, was born under *Tiberius*; but Authors are not agreed in the place of his nativity, nor is it to be determined from any passage in his works. Some are of opinion that he was born at *Italica* in *Spain*; but had he been a *Spaniard*, it is very unlikely that *Martial* who has often spoke in his praise, should forget to congratulate his country on having given birth to so illustrious a person. Others suppose he was born at *Confinium* in *Italy*, which place according to *Strabo*, had the Name *Italica* given it during the Social War; but *Velleius Paterculus*, who mentions something of a design that was in agitation during that war of changing the town's name, has no where said it was ever done: which is a good argument that this intended change did never take place. Besides, the Grammarian makes this objection to his birth at either of the aforesaid places; that if so, SILIUS must have been sirnam'd ITALICENSIS from *Italica*, and not ITALICUS as we find him constantly called. But let us pass on to something more certain concerning him.

THO' Eloquence began to degenerate even under *Tiberius*, yet SILIUS, who had a great Genius to it,

proposed the most likely means to restore it, by a careful imitation of *Cicero*; in which he so well succeeded, that soon after he came to the Bar, he got the character of the best Orator of his time. He pass'd with good applause thro' all those great offices, which lead to the Consulship; and became very remarkable by the death of *Nero*. *Pliny* the Younger, to whom we are beholden for most that we know of SILIUS, says, That it was reported, that he had at first laid out for *Nero*'s favour, which he acquired to a great degree, by accusing some great persons: a vile abuse of eloquence! but too frequent in those degenerate times. *Pliny* does not altogether free our author from this charge, but adds, that if he did so, he made ample amends for it afterwards by a long and uniform course of honour and virtue; and tho' he was likewise highly in favour with *Vitellius*, he had the art to gain the affection and esteem of the public, at the same time that he maintained himself in the good graces of that prince.

UNDER *Vespasian* he was sent Proconsul into *Asia*, from whence he returned to *Rome* with an unblemished character, his reputation still increasing with his employments. After having thus spent the better part of his life in his country's service, he bid adieu to public affairs, resolving to consecrate the remainder to a polite retirement and the *Muses*.

IN order to this purpose, besides other fine seats, he purchased *Cicero*'s famous Villa at *Tusculum*, and an estate near *Naples*, which is said to have been *Virgil*'s, and in which was his tomb, which *Silius* very frequently visited; paying such great honour to that excellent Poet's memory, that he annually used to celebrate his birth-day with more solemnity than his own.

I must add one circumstance that seems to make very much for the honour of SILIUS. It appears from *Martial*, that his steady conduct had gained him among the *Romans* the Sirname of PERPETUUS, that is *the constant*. *Martial* calls him twice by this name, once in a Poem written in his praise, *Lib*. 7. *Ep*. 62. and another time, when

when he only mentions him as one of those great men, who disdained not to give his Epigrams a place in their libraries, *Lib.* 6. *Ep.* 64. If the former may be understood as a compliment, the latter must be absurdly used, or prove that it was an appellation given him by the public voice.

Silius lived to see his eldest son Consul, and his other son was almost arrived to the age fit for obtaining it, which his merit already demanded, when an untimely death snatch'd him away from that and all his Father's hopes, *Martial*, Lib. 8. Ep. 66. As *Silius* grew old, he kept very close in his retirement, insomuch that he begged to be excused by reason of his advanced age from going to court to salute *Trajan* on his first coming to the Empire: and a few years after having been for some time afflicted with an incurable ulcer, after all remedies were found ineffectual for his relief, he put a period to his own life by a voluntary abstinence. This was a common practice among the *Romans*, and agreeably to the erroneous principles of the *Stoick* Philosophy, was counted an act of heroic bravery. *Atticus*, tho' an Epicurean in the latter part of his life, is remarkable for dying in the same manner. I cannot better conclude this account of Silius's life, than with *Martial*'s Epigram, wherein he mentions his possessing the two seats abovementioned, and pays him, who was his Patron, a fine compliment on this occasion.

*Silius hæc magni celebrat monumenta Maronis,*
*Jugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet:*
*Hæredem Dominumque sui tumulique larisque*
*Non alium mallet nec Maro nec Cicero.*

Lib. 11. Ep. 49.

Of *Tully*'s seat my Silius is possest,
And his the tomb where *Virgil*'s ashes rest:
Could those great shades return to choose their heir,
The present owner they would both prefer.

It was *Pliny*'s opinion, that Silius owed his success in Poetry more to his application than to any strong genius for it. He was on the decline of life before he

applied himſelf to it; ſo that, had Poetry been his talent, it is thought he would have found and followed the bent of his Genius ſooner. Thus *Ovid*, though a man of great eloquence in pleading, ſoon left the Bar for the Muſes; for Nature is ſeldom at a loſs to find means to exert herſelf agreeably to her bent, and we find the greateſt impediments generally too weak to ſtop the force of inclination:

*Naturam expellas furca licet uſque recurret.*

WE may therefore conclude that ſome genius added to much leiſure and the greateſt admiration of *Virgil*, were the motives that prevailed with SILIUS to turn Poet in his old age: At leaſt, ambition and the thirſt of glory in public life got the better of his other inclinations.

HOWEVER it muſt ſtill be granted, that he had a great and univerſal genius, that rendered him very capable to ſucceed in ſome degree in whatever he applied himſelf to, though he has fallen much ſhort of his great pattern *Virgil* in Poetry.

BUT *Martial*, agreeably to his friendſhip for SILIUS, and perhaps in acknowledgment for favours received, has addreſſed him as the glory of the Muſes in his time:

SILI, *Caſtalidum decus ſororum,*
*Qui perjuria barbari furoris*
*Ingenti premis ore, perfidoſque*
*Faſtus Hannibalis, leveſque Pœnos*
*Magnis cedere cogis Africanis;*
*Paulum ſepoſita ſeveritate*
*Dum blanda vagus alea December*
*Incertis ſonat hinc & hinc fritillis,*
*Et ludit rota nequiore talo*
*Noſtris otia commoda Camœnis.*
*Nec torva lege fronte, ſed remiſſa*
*Laſcivis madidos jocis libellos.*
*Sic forſan tener auſus eſt Catullus*
*Magno mittere paſſerem Maroni.*

SILIUS,

Silius, the pride of the *Castalian* spring,
Thine is the praise in lofty verse to sing
Of *Hannibal* o'erthrown and *Punic* rage,
While *Scipio*'s triumphs swell the shining page:
Now sports and joy return to crown the year,
Thy nobler strains forbear a while, to hear
My jocund Muse that courts her patron's smile,
And would his cares with wanton mirth beguile.
So soft *Catullus* durst his Sparrow send,
And hope great *Maro* would attention lend.

It is now time to look into his character more particularly as the author of an Epic Poem in 16 books, containing an account of the second *Punic* war, so famous in history for having decided the empire of the world in favour of the *Romans*. This was an event that deserved to be made immortal, and who so fit as a Poet to bestow this honour?

*Hannibal* was the most formidable name the *Romans* had ever heard of, he spilt more *Roman* blood in three battles, than had been shed for ages before. How great then must be his merit and glory, who at length mastered and defeated this dreadful enemy of *Rome*? How bright must a *Scipio*'s character appear, how fit to be made the Heroe of a Poem? In a Word, there were so many great men that distinguished themselves during the course of this war by their valour, conduct, and love for their country, that one would think there could not be a finer subject than this which Silius has chosen.

But as this war continued many years, it was not possible to give it the form proper for a just Epic Poem. Nor was the action so remote from the age in which Silius wrote, as to admit of all that grandeur of machinery, which a more fabulous subject, and one of greater antiquity, such as that of *Eneas*'s settlement in *Italy*, could receive. Every circumstance of the *Punic* war had been so fully and exactly related by many celebrated Historians both *Greeks* and *Romans*, that a great restraint was thereby laid on the Poet's fancy;

which was now so nearly confined to truth, that it durst not launch out into those agreeable fictions that give a life to the narration of the *Ilias* and *Æneis*.

It is in this respect, that I cannot forbear calling Silius's judgment in question, who is too often tempted to imitate *Virgil*'s machinery, without a proper consideration of the many objections he was liable to for so doing. I think *Lucan*'s conduct in his *Pharsalia* more commendable, for having introduced but few of these ornaments into his Poem, which like that of Silius, being altogether historical, could not with any propriety receive them.

I need not detain the Reader, by giving him a sketch of the Poem: None, but those who are strangers to the *Roman* History, need such an illustration; and they may be informed of all at large in a translation of our Author by one *Ross*, which tho' far from doing justice to him, has yet kept pretty close to the original. But if the *Latin* wants fire and spirit sometimes, the *English* is so heavy, and the numbers are so rude and untunable, that I could not offer them to the *English* reader in the quotations that are hereafter made out of this Poem.

Therefore I think it sufficient to make such occasional observations upon Silius's management of his subject in several parts of the Poem, as may shew his genius and point out a character to the reader.

After a short proposition of his subject. Silius makes *Juno*, who still kept up her resentment against the *Romans*, as the descendants of the *Trojans*, and sought to raise her favourite *Carthaginians* to the sovereignty of the world, declare, when she saw the bad success of her people in the first *Punic* war, that she should in time have a complete revenge by the terrible overthrows that her darling *Hannibal* would give the *Romans*. This machine is in imitation of *Virgil*'s in the first book of the *Æneis*. But *Juno*'s interposing seems needless, the account immediately following, how *Hannibal*'s father solemnly adjures him at the altar while he was yet a child to bear everlasting enmity to the

the *Romans*, was a sufficient reaſon for *Hannibal*'s conſtant averſion to them: and what the Augur, upon inſpecting the intrails of the victims, foretells him of his ſucceſs againſt the *Romans*, was encouragement enough for him to undertake a war againſt them. The action of the 1ſt book is alſo very faulty, for including ſo long a ſpace of time; for it begins before the death of *Hannibal*'s father, and ends with the ſiege of *Saguntum:* a ſpace of time equal to that of the reſt of the Poem, to which this firſt ſeems rather an introduction.

IF he ſtrains for machines in the 2d book, they act however with more grace; it being no new thing in Poetry to make imaginary characters become actors in an Epic Poem. The *Saguntines* finding themſelves ſtraitly preſſed by *Hannibal* who beſieged them, addreſs their prayers to *Hercules* their tutelar God; who repairs to the Goddeſs *Faith*, and recommends thoſe faithful allies of the *Romans* to her protection. All ſhe can do for them is to deſcend and inſpire their minds with a vigorous reſolution to continue true to their alliance, and defend themſelves to extremity. *Juno*, as ſhe returns from the *Carthaginian* camp, ſees *Faith* in *Saguntum*; at this her anger kindles, ſhe goes to the Fury *Tyſiphone*, whom ſhe immediately commands to exert all her miſchievous power in haſtening the deſtruction of the place, by driving the inhabitants to deſpair. Tho' it was not an uncommon practice among the Antients, for a brave people made deſperate by famine and all the other diſtreſſes attending a long and cloſe ſiege, to periſh all together as the *Saguntines* did, rather than fall into the cruel hands of a merciless and provoked enemy ſuch as *Hannibal* was; yet this is ſuch a poetical way of accounting for the event as cannot diſpleaſe an ingenuous reader.

AGAIN, in the 3d book, upon *Hannibal*'s paſſing the *Alps*, *Venus*, who is alarmed with fear for the ſafety of her *Romans*, makes an humble requeſt to her father *Jupiter* in their behalf. This is alſo poetical and well contrived: and as I propoſe to quote ſome

paſſages

passages out of SILIUS's Poem, I cannot begin by a nobler than *Jupiter*'s answer to *Venus*, in which the Poet has happily introduced a fine compliment to the *Vespasians* Father and Son, and particularly to *Domitian*, who reigned at the time of SILIUS's writing this book. Hence we may infer, that he retired from publicaffairs at least soon after the death of *Titus Vespasian*. But let us hear *Jupiter* speak.

*Pelle metus, neu te Tyriæ conanima gentis*
*Turbarint Cytherea; tenet, longumque tenebit*
*Tarpeias arces sanguis tuus: hâc ego Martis*
*Mole viros spectare paro atque expendere Bello.*
*Gens ferri patiens, ac læta domare labores*
*Paullatim antiquo patrum desuescit honori.*
*Atque ille haud unquam parcus pro laude cruoris,*
*Et semper famæ sitiens obscura sedendo*
*Tempora agit, mutum volvens inglorius ævum.*
*Desidiæ virtus paullatim victa senescit:*
*Magnæ molis opus, multoque labore parandum*
*Tot populos inter soli sibi poscere regna.*
*Jamque tibi eveniet tempus, quo maxima rerum*
*Nobilior sit Roma malis; hinc nomina nostro*
*Non indigna polo referet labor, hinc tibi Paullus,*
*Hinc Fabius, gratusque mihi Marcellus opimis,*
*Hi tantum parient Latio per vulnera Regnum*
*Quod luxu & multum mutata mente Nepotes,*
*Non tamen evertisse queant: jamque ipse creatus*
*Qui Pœnum revocet Patriæ, Latioque repulsum*
*Ante suæ muros Carthaginis exuat armis.*
*Hinc, Cytherea, tuis longo regnabitur ævo.*
*Exin se Curibus virtus cælestis ad astra*
*Efferet, & sacris augebit nomen Iülis*
*Bellatrix gens baccifero nutrita Sabino;*
*Hinc pater ignotam donabit vincere Thulen,*
*Inque Caledonios primus trahet agmina lucos.*
*Compescet ripis Rhenum, reget impiger Afros,*
*Palmiferamque senex bello domitabit Idumen,*
*Nec Stygis ille lacus, viduataque numine regna*
*Sed superum sedes, nostrosque tenebit honores.*

*Tum*

*Tum juvenis magno præcellens robore mentis*
*Excipiet patriam molem, celsusque feretur*
*Æquatum imperio tollens caput, hic fera gentis*
*Bella Palestinæ primo delebit in ævo.*
*At tu transcendens, Germanice, facta tuorum,*
*Jam puer auricomo performidate Batavo,*
*Nec te terruerint Tarpeii culminis ignes,*
*Sacrilegas inter flammas servabere terris;*
*Nam te longa manent nostri consortia mundi.*
*Huic laxos arcus olim Gangetica pubes*
*Submittet, vacuasque ostendent Bactra pharetras.*
*Hic & ab Arctoo currus aget axe, per urbem*
*Ducet & Eoos, Baccho cedente triumphos.*
*Idem indignantem transmittere Dardana signa*
*Sarmaticis victor compescet sedibus Istrum.*
*Quin & Romuleos superabit voce nepotes*
*Queis erit eloquio partum decus: huic sua Musæ*
*Sacra ferent; meliorque lyra, cui substitit Hebrus.*
*Et venit Rhodope; Phœbo miranda loquetur*
*Ille etiam, qua prisca, vides, stat regia nobis,*
*Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,*
*Et junget nostro templorum culmina cælo.*
*Tunc, O nate Deûm, divosque dature, beatas*
*Imperio terras patrio rege, tarda senectam*
*Hospitia excipient cæli, solioque Quirinus*
*Concedet, mediamque parens, fraterque locabunt;*
*Siderei juxta radiabunt tempora nati.* Lib. 3.

Then smiling, thus reply'd the Thunderer;
Goddess, thy fears for *Trojan Rome* forbear,
The *Tyrians* mighty efforts are in vain,
Thy race establish'd shall secure remain:
This war their sinking valour will revive
Whom peace has taught ingloriously to live.
These *Romans* once so covetous of Fame,
Shall they decline their ancestor's great name?
Their youth and vigour thus obscurely spend,
Poison'd by ease, their days in silence end?
Mighty's the task and arduous the toil
Of vanquish'd nations to collect the spoil,

Con-

Contending pow'rs reduce, extensive sway
O'er all assume, and make a world obey:
And yet the time's at hand, when you'll confess
*Rome*'s tow'ring glory founded on distress:
Calamity shall teach her to aspire,
As purest gold refines in quickest fire.
Her sons great acts new stars unto the skies,
New names shall add. Hence *Paulus* will arise.
Great *Fabius*, and *Marcellus*, glorious made
By noblest spoils; a sure foundation laid
Of Empire, by their valour rais'd shall stand
Unhurt, by Luxury's destroying hand,
To *Rome* already is the Heroe born,
Who shall th' insulting *Tyrian*'s pride o'erturn;
Fierce *Hannibal* from *Italy* recall,
And conqu'ring him, make envious *Carthage* fall.
Then shall thy race long flourish in command,
And spread their conquests wide thro' ev'ry land:
A race divine from *Cures* then shall spring
That will new glories to thy *Julius* bring:
The father of the Warrior *Sabine* breed
His hardy legions shall to *Thule* lead;
Thro' *Caledonian* woods first cut his way,
And teach the *Rhine* and *Afric* to obey.
Palm-bearing *Idumea* last shall yield
Him trophies, when grown old in Honour's field:
Nor shall he to the *Stygian* lake descend,
Such worth to Heav'n may justly recommend.
To him succeeds a youth of active mind
Equal to that high pow'r for him design'd:
*Palestine* vanquish'd shall his temples crown.
*Domitian* next, brave chief of high renown!
A beardless youth he'll make the *Belgian* fly,
*Tarpeian* fires his courage will defy:
Thy sacred head the lambent flames shall spare,
I'll make thee mine, as thou mankind thy care:
The subject world thy presence long shall bless;
*Ganges* with bow unbent will thee confess
His Lord, and *Bactria* quell'd, submissive lay
Her empty quivers in her victor's way,

Triumphant

Triumphant from the North thy Car ſhall come,
And from the vanquiſh'd Eaſt bring Laurels home.
To thee great *Bacchus* yields; the *Iſter* bears
Thy troops reluctant to *Sarmatic* wars:
When the *Barbarians* thou ſhalt cloſe confine
To their own limits, and juſt bounds aſſign;
A *Tully*'s eloquence ſhall yield to thine:
Such harmony's admir'd by all the Nine;
And *Orpheus* would his Lyre ſubmiſſive lend,
*Orpheus* for whom the rivers did ſuſpend
Their courſe, and mountains with attention bend.
See! where the Capitol ſinks in decay,
Sacred of old to me; ſoon comes the day,
By him renew'd its radiant roof ſhall riſe,
And with his golden tow'rs invade the ſkies.
But thou, O born of Gods, that ſhall give birth
To future Deities, the happy earth
Rule with a father's power, retiring late
To theſe bright manſions of cæleſtial ſtate:
*Quirinus* pleas'd for thee will quit his throne
Betwixt thy brother and thy father's crown,
And near thee fix'd ſhall ſhine thy ſtarry ſon.

I ſhall now ſubjoin that fine paſſage in the firſt book of the *Æneis*, which Silius had in his eye when he wrote the foregoing lines, which I think may ſerve as an example of a fine Imitation. *Jupiter* comforts *Venus*, as follows.

*Illi ſubridens hominum ſator atque Deorum,*
*Vultu, quo cœlum, tempeſtateſque ſerenat,*
*Oſcula libavit natæ; dehinc talia fatur:*
*Parce metu, Cytherea; manent immota tuorum*
*Fata tibi: cernes urbem, & promiſſa Lavini*
*Mœnia, ſublimemque feres ad ſidera cœli*
*Magnanimum Æneam: neque me ſententia vertit.*
*Hic (tibi fabor enim, quando hæc te cura remordet,*
*Longius & volvens fatorum arcana movebo)*
*Bellum ingens geret Italia, populoſque feroces*
*Contundet, moreſque viris, & mœnia ponet,*
*Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit æſtas,*

*Ternaque*

*Ternaque transierint Rutulis hyberna subactis.*
*At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iülo*
*Additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno)*
*Triginta magnus volvendis mensibus orbes*
*Imperio explebit, regnumque à sede Lavini*
*Transferet, & longam multa vi muniet Albam.*
*Hic jam ter centum totos regnabitur annos*
*Gente sub Hectorea; donec regina sacerdos,*
*Marte gravis, geminum partu dabit Ilia prolem.*
*Inde lupæ fulvo nutricis tegmine lætus*
*Romulus, excipiet gentem, & mavortia condet*
*Mœnia, Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.*
*His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:*
*Imperium sine fine dedi: quin aspera Juno,*
*Quæ mare nunc, terrasque metu, cœlumque fatigat,*
*Consilia in melius referet, mecúmque fovebit*
*Romanos rerum Dominos, gentemque togatam.*
*Sic placitum; veniet lustris labentibus ætas*
*Cum domus Assaraci Phthiam, clarasque Mycenas*
*Servitio premet, ac victis dominabitur Argis.*
*Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Cæsar,*
*(Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris)*
*Julius, à magno demissum nomen Iülo.*
*Hunc tu olim cœlo spoliis orientis onustum*
*Accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.*
*Aspera tùm positis mitescent sæcula bellis;*
*Cana fides, & Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus*
*Jura dabunt: diræ ferro, & compagibus arctis*
*Claudentur belli portæ. Furor impius intùs*
*Sæva sedens super arma, & centum vinctus ahenis*
*Post tergum nodis, fremit horridus ore cruento.*

Lib. I. Ver. 258.

To whom the father of immortal race
Smiling with that serene indulgent face
With which he drives the clouds and clears the skies,
First gave a holy kiss, then thus replies:
Daughter, dismiss thy fears; to thy desire
The fates of thine are fix'd and stand entire.
Thou shalt behold thy wish'd *Lavinian* walls,
And ripe for Heav'n, when Fate *Æneas* calls,

Then

Then ſhalt thou bear him up ſublime to me;
No councils have revers'd my firm decree.
And left new fears diſturb thy happy ſtate,
Know I have ſearch'd the myſtic rolls of Fate:
Thy Son (nor is th' appointed ſeaſon far)
In *Italy* ſhall wage ſucceſsful war.
Shall tame fierce nations in the bloody field,
And ſovereign laws impoſe, and cities build;
'Till after ev'ry foe ſubdued, the Sun
Thrice thro' the Signs his annual race ſhall run:
This is the time prefix'd. *Aſcanius* then,
Now call'd *Iülus*, ſhall begin his reign.
He thirty rowling years the crown ſhall wear:
Then from *Lavinium* ſhall the ſeat transfer,
And with hard labour *Alba Longa* build:
The throne with his ſucceſſion ſhall be fill'd
Three hundred circuits more: Then ſhall be ſeen
*Ilia* the fair, a Prieſteſs and a Queen;
Who full of *Mars*, in time, with kindly throws
Shall at a birth two goodly boys diſcloſe.
The royal babes a tawny wolf ſhall drain:
Then *Romulus* his Grandſire's throne ſhall gain;
Of martial tow'rs the founder ſhall become,
The people *Romans* call, the City *Rome*.
To them no bounds of empire I aſſign,
Nor term of years to their immortal line.
Ev'n haughty *Juno*, who with endleſs broils
Earth, ſeas and heav'n, and *Jove* himſelf turmoils,
At length aton'd, her friendly pow'r ſhall join,
To cheriſh and advance the *Trojan* line.
The ſubject world ſhall *Rome*'s dominion own,
And proſtrate ſhall adore the nation of the Gown.
An age is rip'ning in revolving fate,
When *Troy* ſhall overturn the *Græcian* ſtate;
And ſweet revenge her conqu'ring ſons ſhall call
To cruſh the people that conſpir'd her fall.
Then *Cæſar* from the *Julian* ſtock ſhall riſe,
Whoſe empire ocean, and whoſe fame the ſkies
Alone ſhall bound: whom fraught with eaſtern ſpoil
Our heav'n, the juſt reward of human toil.

Securely

Securely shall repay with rites divine;
And incense shall ascend before his sacred shrine
Then dire Debate, and impious war shall cease,
And the stern age be soften'd into peace.
Then banish'd Faith shall once again return,
And vestal fires in hallow'd temples burn:
And *Remus* with *Quirinus* shall sustain
The righteous laws, and fraud and force restrain.
*Janus* himself before his *Fane* shall wait,
And keep the dreadful issues of his gate.
With bolts and iron bars: within remains
Imprison'd, Fury, bound in brazen chains:
High on a trophy rais'd of useless arms
He sits, and threats the world with vain alarms.

*Dryden.*

I hope none of my readers, but such as are insensible of the fine strokes of poetry, will be angry at the length of these two quotations, or at my thus setting them together; which I think the readiest way to shew the beauties of both Authors, at least it is most useful for the instruction of the young Student, for whose benefit this work was chiefly undertaken. I now proceed to transcribe some other passages from SILIUS. The following account of the origin of the Temple of *Jupiter-Ammon* is very curious and entertaining.

*Nam cui Dona Jovis non divulgata per orbem.*
*In Gremio Thebes geminas sedisse Columbas?*
*Quarum Chaonias pennis quæ contigit oras*
*Implet fatidico Dodonida murmure quercum.*
*At quæ Carpathium super æquor vecta, per auras*
*In Libyen niveis tranavit concolor alis,*
*Hanc sedem primo Cythereïa condidit ales;*
*Hic ubi nunc aras lucosque videtis opacos*
*Ductore electo gregis, (admirabile dictu)*
*Lanigeri capitis media inter cornua perstans,*
*Marmaricis ales populis responsa canebat:*
*Mox subitum nemus atque annoso robore lucus*
*Exsiluit, qualesque premunt nunc sidera quercus*

*A prima venere die, prisco inde pavore*
*Arbor numen habet, coliturque tepentibus aris.*
Lib. 3. Ver. 678.

To whom on earth are *Jove*'s fam'd gifts unknown,
The ſacred doves that firſt at *Thebes* were ſhown?
To the *Chaonian* coaſt one ſteer'd her flight,
Inſpiring oaks with her prophetic light;
But ſhe whom ſnowy wings high ſoaring bore
O'er ſeas *Carpathian*, reach'd the *Libyan* ſhore.
Here *Cytherea*'s bird firſt choſe to dwell,
And ſingling out the Ram, alighting fell
Betwixt his horns, and thence inſtructive taught
Thoſe oracles, the wondring people ſought.
Where now theſe altars and the ſhady wood
Delightful you behold, there firſt ſhe ſtood;
Men ſaw amaz'd at once a grove ariſe
Of theſe tall oaks, and ſudden reach the ſkies.
Hence antient rev'rence to this Grove is paid,
And ſmoaking altars are with victims fed.

The Deſcription of the *Alps* in the ſame book is very juſt and poetical:

*Cuncta gelu, canaque æternum grandine tecta*
*Atque ævi glaciem cohibent, regit ardua montis*
*Ætherei facies, ſurgentique obvia Phœbo*
*Duratas neſcit flammis mollire pruinas.*
*Quantum Tartareus regni pallentis hiatus*
*Ad manes imos, atque atræ ſtagna Paludis*
*A ſupera tellure patet: tam longa per auras*
*Erigitur tellus & cœlum intercipit umbra.*
*Nullum ver uſquam, nullique æſtatis honores:*
*Sola jugis habitat diris, ſedeſque tuetur*
*Perpetuas deformis hyems; illa undique nubes*
*Huc atras agit, & mixtos cum grandine nimbos.*
*Jam cuncti flatus, ventique furentia regna*
*Alpina poſuere domo, caligat in altis*
*Obtutus ſaxis, abeuntque in nubila montes.*
*Mixus Athos Tauro: Rhodope adjuncta Mimanti,*
*Oſſaque cum Pindo, cumque Hæmo ceſſerit Othrys.*
Lib. 3. Ver. 478.

In every part eternally prevail
The growing froſt, and undiſſolving hail;
The aged ice endures: each lofty brow
Of theſe aerial hills is crown'd with ſnow:
Tho' *Phœbus* riſing on their Summit play,
The ſolid froſt defies his fierceſt ray:
Far as the gloomy dwellings ſink below
Our ſurface, where the *Stygian* waters flow,
So high above the vale the mountains riſe,
And with their ſhadow intercept the ſkies.
Nor Spring, nor Summer knows the gloomy year:
Winter deform'd for ever fix'd dwells here,
And on theſe dreary cliffs her ſeat defends;
Whence all around ſhe ſtorms diſpenſing ſends.
Mad *Boreas* here and all his boiſt'rous Train
Have choſe their home, hence ſcour the earth and main.
The weaken'd eye grows dim to take the height,
Which piercing thro' the clouds eludes the dazled ſight.

THE ſcene of the ſoldiers conſternation to ſee one mountain riſing above the other is happily illuſtrated by the compariſon of a traveller at ſea, who can only ſee the water.

*Quoque magis ſubiere jugo atque evadere niſi*
*Erexere gradum, creſcit labor, ardua ſupra*
*Seſe aperit feſſis, & naſcitur altera molis.*
*Unde nec edomitos, exſudatoſque labores*
*Reſpexiſſe libet, tanta formidine plena*
*Exterrent repetita oculis, atque una pruinæ*
*Canentis, quacunque datur permittere viſus*
*Ingeritur facies: medio ſic navita ponto*
*Quum dulces liquit terras, & inania nullos*
*Inveniunt ventos ſecuro carbaſa malo*
*Immenſas proſpectat aquas, ac victa profundis*
*Æquoribus, feſſus renovat ſua lumina cælo.*

Lib. 7. Ver. 190.

The higher they aſcend, and ſeek to eaſe
Their wearied ſteps, their labours ſtill increaſe:

To

To one great height ; greater doth succeed,
And every ill another ſeems to breed.
Hence all their toils and labours, which before
They had o'ercome, they tremble to explore.
Objects repeated, terrors new preſent,
Which ever way their trembling eyes are bent.
The horrid face of winter hoary white
Appearing, gives ſad limits to their ſight.
So when the unſkil'd ſailor vent'rous leaves
His ſweet abode, for which too late he grieves,
And the briſk gale no longer ſwells the ſails,
Far as his view extends, the ſea prevails :
Tir'd with the boundleſs proſpect, then he tries
To eaſe his ſight, and upward caſt his eyes.

THE deſcription of the river *Ticinus* is as beautiful as thoſe of the celebrated fountain in *Ovid*, where *Salmacis* and *Hermaphroditus* bathed, and *Narciſſus* admired his own beauty.

*Cæruleas Ticinus aquas & ſtagna vadoſo*
*Perſpicuus ſervat turbari neſcia fundo,*
*Ac nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem ;*
*Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis*
*Argutos inter volucrum certamina cantus,*
*Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.*
Lib. 4. Ver. 82.

*Ticinus* in a ſhallow channel flows ;
Yet gently glides the limpid ſtream along
The ſhady banks, where feather'd warblers throng ;
From ſpray to ſpray the wanton ſongſters ſkip :
The tide tranſparent ſcarce is ſeen to creep,
And with low murmurs ſoft invites to ſleep.

BEFORE I quote the following paſſage, I cannot forbear condemning SILIUS for an abſurd imitation of *Virgil*. The Conſul *Scipio* is introduced ſpeaking to his horſe *Garganus*, to whom he promiſes the fine trappings of *Chryxus*'s horſe. This *Chryxus* was a prince of the *Gauls* of great ſtature and fierceneſs, whom the Conſul was going to attack. *Mezentius* is

indeed made to ſpeak to his horſe *Rhætus* in the *Æneis*; but he was agitated by the extremity of grief and deſpair: and thoſe violent paſſions make men addreſs their diſcourſe to the moſt inanimate parts of nature. *Scipio* was cool, and wanted only to encourage his horſe to ride up againſt the *Gaul*. Beſides, what might be ſuppoſed a beautiful image in thoſe early times, when fine horſes were uncommon, and made the delight as well as the reward of the greateſt Heroes; is abſurd to be imitated in the ſecond *Punic* War by a grave and illuſtrious *Roman*, ſuch as this elder *Scipio* was. But the Poet has ſucceeded better in his compariſon of *Chryxus*'s fall when ſlain by the Conſul, with that of a great pile caſt into the ſea.

*Haud aliter ſtructo Tyrrhena ad littora ſaxo*
*Pugnatura fretis ſubter cæciſque procellis,*
*Pila immane ſonans, impingitur ardua ponto:*
*Immugit Nereus, diviſaque cærula pulſa*
*Illiſum accipiunt irata ſub æquora montem.* Lib. 4.

So where a mound is raiſing on the ſtrand
To quell the billows that inſult the land
A mighty pile is caſt, that falling rives
The foaming ſurges, and reſounding drives
With ſhock impetuous; they with angry roar
Admit the daſhing rock, and yield the ſhore.

THE imitation SILIUS makes of the battle of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* in the *Roman* ſtory, by an engagement of three *Romans* with as many *Carthaginians*, is agreeably related, though too like *Livy*'s account in the circumſtances of the combat. When *Mars* is made to deſcend with his train to inſtruct young *Scipio* in his firſt campaign, who afterwards ſaves his Father's life, and bears him wounded to his tent; I muſt confeſs, that I think this machinery needleſs, and of little advantage to a circumſtance which is ſo beautiful in Hiſtory. The Poet repreſents the God of war as admiring the heroic conduct of *Scipio*, who, according to *Livy*, was but ſixteen years old, when he behaved with ſo much gallantry. *Mars* foretells *Scipio's*

*pio*'s victory over *Hannibal* afterwards, and then returns to Heaven. This ſeems but a poor expedition for a God; and to mend the matter, it is *Jupiter* himſelf, who out of concern for the Conſul's life, ſends him to his relief, when he was encompaſſed and attacked by a body of *Carthaginians*.

THIS happens at the battle of *Trebia*: that river ſwells with the number of the ſlain, that ſtop'd the courſe of his ſtream, ſo that the Conſul *Scipio* is again in danger of his life. SILIUS here makes him expoſtulate with the river for favouring the *Carthaginians*, which at laſt he threatens to deſtroy, by letting out his waters by ſeveral cuts. The River-God full of reſentment at this inſult, ſwells higher, and lifting up his oozy head, reproves *Scipio* for his unjuſt menaces. *Venus* as ſhe lay in the embraces of *Vulcan*, ſaw and heard their diſpute; and being in pain for *Scipio*, throws ſome of her huſband's fires into the river, which ſoon ſink the waters; but after the river's ſubmiſſion, and at his humble requeſt, he is allowed to flow in his uſual banks.

WERE it not an ungrateful taſk to be thus forced to cenſure and expoſe my Author's failings, which I muſt do as they come in my way, unleſs I would leave the leſs ſkilful reader to be often miſled by ſeeming beauties, I might proceed farther in this examination: But it is enough to have ſhewn ſome of his beauties, and ſome of his errors; into the latter of which he often falls, by a too great affectation of adorning his ſubject.

To prevent which in others, I ſhall venture to lay down the following rule of *Lucretius*, though ſomewhat differently applied.

*Ornari res ipſe negat contenta doceri.*

A great ſubject is ſo far incapable of receiving additional ornaments from fiction, as it is above them, and ſo will ſhine moſt in the beautiful and ſublime ſimplicity of the narration; like fine figures in ſculpture to which the moſt elegant drapery would not only be

an incumbrance, but conceal ſome of the greateſt beauties that appear to advantage in the nudity.

THIS leads me to conſider in what caſes a judicious Poet will introduce a machine. I know but two; either to ſet off a little circumſtance that would appear mean withou it, as *Virgil* has done, where *Æneas* meets his Mother *Venus* in the wood and aſks her the way, not knowing who it was he ſpoke to; or ſecondly to compaſs ſome important event, for which the reader is to be prepared, and yet is as it were to be ſurprized at the manner of its being brought about; as where *Juno* in the ſame book goes to *Æolus* to get him to raiſe a ſtorm that ſhould unexpectedly drive the *Trojan* Fleet into the port of *Africa* near *Carthage*, which was to be the ſcene of that fine epiſode of his amour with *Dido*. When Poets have been willing to introduce machines into their ſubject without ſome ſuch like view, as the two above mentioned inſtances, they are not only needleſs but often prove diſadvantageous to the Poem they were intended to grace.

To ſum up the character of SILIUS in a few words: He was not a ſtranger to ſome of thoſe great qualities required to form a great Poet; he was inferior to none of them in learning, both hiſtorical, moral, and natural; he had the judgment to chuſe a ſubject equally intereſting and illuſtrious. His characters are noble and juſt, and the ſentiments great and beautiful. We have ſeen that his deſcriptions are bold and well circumſtantiated, and the images very poetical, but the expreſſion, the colouring, is weak and often ſpiritleſs. He is maſter of many excellencies, but often loſes the influence of the ætherial particle, that enthuſiaſtic fire, which ſtrengthens every figure, and animates every line in *Homer* and *Virgil*. Though SILIUS does not always creep; he can ſometimes riſe with dignity and gracefulneſs: but he weaken'd his fire by attempting to imitate *Virgil*'s correctneſs. *Homer*'s fire as more fierce and blazing, would have warmed his flagging Muſe. A leſs intelligent reader is often apt to miſtake the

the close exactness of *Virgil* for coldness: You lose the beauty of some of his truest images for want of due attention to the labour'd correctness of his expression, which like a curious figure encompassed by a strong shade does not strike every common eye. SILIUS by attempting to do the same, has sometimes left his figures without life, and his stile spiritless. But, however *Statius* modestly said of himself, that he follow'd *Virgil* at a distance, yet his fire made him often run out of the course, as SILIUS's caution kept him behind. So hard is it to observe the golden mean in Poetry as well as in other things. But though I have not failed observing SILIUS's faults, I think he has many more excellencies; so that he justly deserves the character of a good Poet, who would be much more esteemed were he more known.

THE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

# THE LIFE OF *MARTIAL.*

MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS was a native of *Bilbilis* now *Bilboa*, the capital of the province of *Biſcay* in *Spain*. In his youth he was ſent to proſecute his ſtudies at *Rome*, being intended for the Law; but finding in himſelf no great talent that way, he left the Bar and applied himſelf to Poetry, to which his genius led him. He was ſo fortunate in the exerciſe of that eaſy vein of writing in which he excelled, that it ſoon got him the acquaintance and friendſhip of many of the firſt rank at *Rome*; and particularly of *Silius Italicus*, *Stella* and *Pliny* the Younger; the latter of whom ſpeaks very handſomely of him in his Epiſtles. Three ſucceeding Emperors became his patrons, *Domitian*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan*; the former made him a *Roman* Knight, and granted him the privileges of a Citizen that had three children. *Stertinius* a *Roman* Nobleman hrd ſo great an eſteem for him, that he placed his ſtatue in his library, whilſt the Poet was yet living; an honour generally paid to the memory of the illuſtrious dead only. The emperor *Verus*, who reigned with *Antoninus* the Philoſopher, uſed to call MARTIAL his *Virgil*, thereby ſufficiently intimating the eſteem he had for his works.

TOWARDS the middle of *Trajan*'s reign, MARTIAL grew deſirous of retiring to his native country, after having

having lived at *Rome* thirty four years: See *Lib.* 10. *Epigr.* 103. His friend and patron *Pliny* generously contributed to the expences of his journey. The Poet had the happineſs to ſurvive this retreat many years, and wrote his 12th book at *Bilboa*, after three years ſilence, at the requeſt of his friend *Priſcus*, who came to him in *Spain*, and to whom it is inſcribed as his patron and benefactor.

I think MARTIAL was twice married; but the name of his firſt wife is no where mentioned, nor that he had any children by her: The ſecond, whom (*Lib.* 12. *Ep.* 21.) he much admires and commends, was a *Spaniard*, and he ſeems to have married her after his return to *Bilboa*. She being born at *Salo* a town not far from thence, the 31ſt *Epigram* of the 12th book commends the fine gardens ſhe had there, and which ſhe preſented to her huſband.

MARTIAL was of a pleaſant and grateful diſpoſition, of a ready wit and ſprightly genius. *Catullus*, *Calous*, *Pedo Marſus*, and *Getulicus*, are ſaid to be the Poets he choſe to imitate. It is ſtrange that of the great number of Epigrammatic Writers among the *Romans*, we ſhould have the works of none preſerved but thoſe of *Catullus* and *Martial*. There was ſcarce a Gentleman at *Rome* that pretended to wit and learning, for ſeveral ages, but made ſome eſſays of his abilities this way, as being of all others the moſt obvious and amuſing. *Pliny* the Younger with all his gravity diverted himſelf ſometimes with writing Hendecaſyllables, which were little Poems of the Epigrammatic kind; indulging the ſallies of a merry and ſometimes a looſer vein. But I need not dwell any longer on what is ſo notorious.

NOTWITHSTANDING MARTIAL paid great compliment to *Domitian*, I cannot find that he made his fortune by it. His circumſtances were low by his own confeſſion, where he ought to have ſaid all he could think of to his own reputation, it being an Epigram written in his own defence againſt the inſults of a rich fool.

*Sum fateor ſemperque fui, Calliſtrate, pauper,*
*Sed non obſcurus, nec male notus eques.*
*Sed toto legor orbe frequens, & dicitur hic eſt;*
*Quodque cinis paucis, hoc mihi vita dedit.*
Lib. 5. Ep. 13.

Low is my fortune, yet not quite ſo mean
But in the rank of *Roman* Knights I'm ſeen.
My Works with pleaſure thro' the world are read;
The praiſe few dead obtain, is to me living paid.

We have no other helps to determine the time of our Poet's birth and death, than what his works can afford, which ſtill make it conjectural. He ſays he liv'd at *Rome* thirty four years, and was grey-haired when he retired to *Bilboa*; where he married *Marcella*, I think his ſecond wife, and after three years ſilence publiſh'd his 12th book of Epigrams: we hear no more of him after this, and ſo may ſuppoſe he did not long ſurvive this publication. If we knew the date of *Pliny*'s letter about his death, which is addreſſed to *Cornelius Priſcus*, and very probably the ſame perſon to whom the Poet has dedicated his 12th book, we might determine it, and thereby pretty nearly fix his birth. All that can be gathered from what has been ſaid, is that ſuppoſing him twenty two at his firſt coming to *Rome*, where he lived thirty four years, he muſt be fifty nine when he publiſh'd his laſt book; for the 13th and 14th books ſeem to have been written long before it. He was born the 1ſt of *March*, as he tells us, *Lib.* 10. *Ep.* 24. which might happen about the tenth year of *Claudian*, and ſo his coming to *Rome* will fall in with the beginning of *Veſpaſian*'s reign; and his death, ſuppoſing it to have happened within a year after the 12th book was publiſhed, about the 15th of *Trajan*.

Before we examine his works, it may not be improper to enquire a little into the nature of Epigrammatic Poetry.

Originally the word *Epigram* ſignified only an Inſcription; which being often comprehended in a few

few lines or verſes, came afterwards to ſignify more particularly certain ſhort Poems.

THE Critics have defined the Epigram to be a ſhort Poem containing a clear expoſition of ſome thing, or character, or action. It is diſtinguiſhed into the Pointed and not Pointed: The Pointed Epigram is that which has a turn or ſting in the concluſion, and if well done, is generally reckoned the beſt; though there are many good Epigrams which are of the ſecond ſort, unpointed, that have no turn at all. *Navagerius* a learned *Italian* and great admirer of *Catullus*, who excells in the unpointed Epigram, uſed on his birth day every year to burn a certain number of MARTIAL's books, in honour to the other Poet's memory: But beſides that this ſavour'd too much of vanity, MARTIAL has many excellent Epigrams of the unpointed ſort.

TRUE Wit ſeems likewiſe in a peculiar manner to be the Epigrammatiſt's province, at leaſt he ſhould go on no other foundation than that which is juſt and beautiful. Some have defined the Beautiful in writing to be that which truly and properly, to which I add, and elegantly deſcribes the mutual relation and agreement between the nature of things and our ideas of them. This happy talent more particularly concerns the Epigrammatiſt, whoſe compoſitions being ſhort and confined to a ſingle ſubject, make themſelves eaſy to be underſtood and cenſured by almoſt every reader, who may with little labour diſcern the beauties or blemiſhes that lye in a ſmall compaſs.

BUT as true Wit and juſt thoughts are not always at a Writer's command, the Epigrammatiſt is very liable to run into falſe wit. If there be a mixture of truth and falſhood in the thought, it may ſometimes be allowed in a good Epigram; but if that thought on which the turn depends ſhould prove falſe the whole Epigram is bad.

To ſhew himſelf a maſter, the Poet ſhould not only invent a happy turn, but let his expreſſion be conciſe and clear; for a good thought is ſometimes ſpoiled by

adding to, or enlarging it, or at leaſt becomes ambiguous and obſcure. As true beauty is moſt comely in a plain dreſs, ſo a fine thougt ſhines moſt in its genuine ſimplicity, without any additional ornaments from the Poet's fancy.

To begin with examining ſome of MARTIAL's Epigrams by the rules aforeſaid, I ſhall inſtance in that on the celebrated ſtory of *Pætus* and *Arria*. Almoſt every reader knows, that *Nero* having ordered *Pætus* to die, *Arria* that noble *Roman's* wife, took a generous reſolution to die with him, with whom ſhe had lived many years in all the endearments of the moſt tender conjugal affection, ſo that this happy couple were become the admiration of the Age. In order to let her huſband ſee how eaſy it was to die, ſhe ſtabbed her ſelf in his preſence, and drawing the dagger all bloody out of her boſom, and preſenting it to him, with an air full of heroic conſtancy mingled with the ſweeteſt affection, ſaid, *Pætus*, it is not painful.

MARTIAL, imagining that by ſome addition of his own, he could give a new grace to this heroic lady's action and expreſſion, makes her ſay beſides the words above; believe me, *Pætus*, it is the wound you are going to give your ſelf that gives me pain. By this indiſcreet addition the chief beauty of the action and thought is deſtroyed; for *Arria*, by ſaying to her huſband, *Non dolet Pæte, Pætus*, it is not painful, encouraged him to plunge the Dagger to his heart, with the ſame indifference and reſolution that he had juſt ſeen her do it: But the Poet's addition makes the poor Lady kill her ſelf to no purpoſe, by that unſeaſonable expreſſion of tenderneſs for him, which muſt diſcourage him from killing himſelf, becauſe ſhe ſays that would give her pain though her own death gave her none. Though that excellent Lady might naturally be ſuppoſed full of ſuch tender ſentiments, yet ſhe had too much of the noble *Roman* in her to increaſe his agonies by ſuch a declaration, and therefore this additional thought, tho' natural and beautiful in it ſelf, is in this place very improper. The Epigram is as follows.

*Caſta*

*Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Pœto,*
*Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis,*
*Crede mihi, vulnus quod feci, non dolet, inquit;*
*Sed, quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.*
Lib. 1. Ep. 4.

The virtuous *Arria* drawing from her breast
The reeking dagger, *Pætus* thus addrest;
This does not pain me, *Pætus*, but I rue
The wound you'll make and doubly die in you.

THIS instance wherein MARTIAL has failed, may show that it is no easy manner to write a good Epigram upon a known subject, especially where the thought, and even the expression of the turn are already made to the Poet's hand.

I shall next proceed to shew by the example of MARTIAL, how an Epigrammatist may treat the same subject well and ill at different times.

IN the following Epigram the subject is nobly executed, and the turn just and well pointed.

*Antoni Phario nil objecture Photino,*
*Et levius tabula quam Cicerone nocens;*
*Quid gladium demens Romana stringis in ora?*
*Hoc admisisset nec Catilina nefas.*
*Impius infando miles corrumpitur auro,*
*Et tantis opibus vox tacet una tibi.*
*Quid prosunt sacræ pretiosa silentia Linguæ?*
*Incipient omnes pro Cicerone loqui.* Lib. 5. Ep. 50.

*Photinus*' Crime shew'd not more cruel will,
O *Antony*, than thy proscription bill.
But *Cicero*'s death did far exceed the rest,
Ev'n *Catiline* would spare his sacred breast.
A soldier's avarice brib'd by heaps of gold,
To thy Revenge the dear bought silence sold;
But what avails the silence of one tongue,
Whilst thousands in its stead proclaim the wrong?

THE reader may observe, that *Antony* is here made as criminal for proscribing *Cicero* as *Photi-*

*nus* for having *Pompey* aſſaſſinated, when he fled, after the battle of *Pharſalia*, to *Ptolemy* in *Ægypt*. MARTIAL, who ſeems full of indignation againſt the memory of *Antony*, and perhaps was willing to compliment *S. Italicus*, who was one of his Patrons, and a great admirer of *Cicero*'s, as it were correcting his former aſſertion, which is however repeated in the firſt verſe of the following Epigram, undertakes to ſhew, that *Antony* was more criminal in putting *Cicero* to Death, than *Photinus* in murdering *Pompey*; and uſes this argument, that what *Photinus* did was for his Prince's ſervice, whereas *Antony* kill'd *Cicero* to gratify his own revenge. But the Poet was not aware, that the converſe of this propoſition is equally true, *viz.* that *Antony* is more excuſable than *Photinus*, becauſe the latter aſſaſſinated *Pompey* without any provocation, merely to ſatisfy his own and his maſter's timorous policy, in doing which they were guilty of the higheſt ingratitude to *Pompey*, who had been a benefactor to *Ægypt* and them: whereas *Antony* had, as he thought, received the moſt injurious treatment imaginable from *Cicero*, whoſe eloquent harangues in the Senate, had cauſed him to be declared a traitor and the enemy of his Country. But let us ſee the Epigram.

*Par ſcelus admiſit Phariis Autonius armis;*
*Abſcidit vultus enſis uterque ſacros*
*Illud laurigeros ageret cum læta triumphos*
*Hoc tibi, Roma, caput, cum loquereris, erat.*
*Antoni tamen eſt pejor quam cauſa Photini;*
*Hic facinus Domino præſtitit, ille ſibi.*

Lib. 3. Ep. 65.

Alike was *Antony*'s and *Ægypt*'s guilt;
Each *Rome*'s beſt blood in her two Heroes ſpilt.
*Pompey* the *Roman* arms to triumphs led,
*Rome*, when ſhe ſpoke, bid *Tully* be her head.
Yet he a victim to reſentment falls,
When *Antony* provok'd for vengeance calls.
The *Pharian* to the *Roman* yields the Prize,
*Photinus but obeys* when *Pompey* dies.

At the ſame time that I condemn the turn of this Epigram as ambiguous at beſt, it is but juſtice to the Poet to ſay, that the expreſſions are noble and very poetical.

The following Epigram is an inſtance of a turn made upon a falſe thought, which may impoſe upon us at firſt by an air of the ſublime.

*Sextantes, Calliſte, duos infunde Falerni ;*
*Tu ſuper æſtivas, Alcime, funde nives.*
*Pingueſcat nimio modidus mihi crinis amomo,*
*Laſſenturque roſis tempora ſutilibus.*
*Jam vicina jubent nos vivere Mauſolæa,*
*Cum doceant ipſos poſſe perire Deos.*

Lib. 5. Ep. 65.

Boy, fill with gen'rous wine the ſwelling bowl,
Temper'd with ſummer's ſnow to make it cool:
With ointments rich perfume my hair, my head
Crown with full Garlands of wreath'd roſes made:
Yon *Mauſoleum* bids us life enjoy,
Which ſhews, that death can even Gods deſtroy.

The Latin word *vivere* emphatically ſignifies to be merry and enjoy the pleaſures of Life. The Poet here ſuppoſes himſelf ſitting in ſight of the Tombs of the Emperors, who by the groſs flattery of the times uſed to be ſtiled Gods even in their life time. Martial therefore recommends the preſent enjoyment of life from this Conſideration, that the Gods themſelves had but a ſhort time to live. The Gods as meaning the Emperors had indeed but a ſhort time to live, they were ſubject to death as well as other men: But the general notion of Gods implying immortal Beings, makes the thought falſe, unleſs ſome epithet were added to ſoften the expreſſion, and then the turn it ſelf would be loſt.

I ſhall give another example where the Poet has leſſened the greatneſs of the thought and action, by making ſome addition to it; which generally happens when we give our fancy way and ſo forget the ſtrict propriety

propriety of the person's character, whose actions or sentiments are made the subject of an Epigram. The Character of *Portia*, that illustrious daughter of *Cato* of *Utica* and wife of *Brutus*, is well known, as well as the trial she made of her own constancy and secrecy, when she found *Brutus*, scrupled to trust her with a secret. The following Epigram introduces her as killing her self by swallowing live coals; and speaking to those about her, she reminds them of what her Father had said a little before his death to those, who out of Zeal for his safety had taken his sword away: Do not you know, said that great *Roman*, that a man resolved to die, can stop his breath, or run his head against the wall? *Portia* hereby intimated that she was a true daughter of *Cato*, and so all their endeavours to prevent her death were to no purpose; having said that, she swallowed the burning coals. But MARTIAL, after she had done that makes her say, by way of triumph, now, what signifies your depriving me of a sword? It would be unbecoming her steady virtue to insult the zealous affections of her attendants, and at best this addition is superfluous.

*Conjugis audisset fatum cum Porci Bruti,*
*Et subtracta sibi quæreret arma dolor:*
*Nondum scitis, ait, mortem non posse negari?*
*Credideram satis hoc vos docuisse patrem.*
*Dixit, & ardentes avido bibit ore favillas:*
*I nunc, & ferrum turba molesta nega.*
Lib. 1. Ep. 43.

When *Porcia* heard of *Brutus*' death, her woes
She sought the readiest way with life to close:
The weapon gone, she said, Death to restrain
I thought my Father's fate had shewn was vain.
Then hastily the burning coals devour'd;
Now keep, she cries, officious friends, the sword.

THERE are other Epigrams that seem faulty, because the Poet has been deceived in the choice of his subject, by the seeming dignity and excellency of it. In this light I consider that of MARTIAL on *Mucius*

*Scævola.* The Story is finely told by the Poet; but I see only basenefs and falshood at the bottom of it, though related at large in all the pomp of *Livy*'s eloquence. If indeed, as *Virgil* says, all is fair against an enemy.

*Dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?*

I shall acquit the Poet's judgment, as carried away in this particular by the public voice, which seemed to lay it down as a maxim, by their admiring what *Mucius* did, That the greatest crimes become acts of virtue when committed for the service of our country. But I think the *Romans* have in many instances shewn their abhorrence of such principles, and allowed that there were laws and rights of war; however, they forgot themselves in the case of *Mucius.* The turn MARTIAL has made in the last lines is very fine and just, for *Porsena*'s making peace with the *Romans*, whom he had reduced to great distress by a long and close siege, was partly owing to his amazement and admiration of the desperate courage of young *Mucius*, and partly to that lie by which that prince was made to believe that there were many others who had entered with *Mucius* into a combination to attack his life, if he did not save it by speedily putting an end to the war, and abandoning the interests of the banished *Tarquins.*

*Cum peteret regem decepta satellite dextra,*
*Injecit sacris se peritura focis:*
*Sed tam sæva pius miracula non tulit hostis,*
*Et raptum flammis jussit abire virum.*
*Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,*
*Hanc spectare manum Porsena non potuit:*
*Major deceptæ fama est & gloria dextræ;*
*Si non errasset fecerat illa minus.* Lib. I. Ep. 22.

The hand that meant the King, but slew his Guard,
Atones its errour in the flames; so hard
Is *Mucius* to condemn, so much he dares
What to behold the *Tuscan* monarch fears.

Such

Such cruel courage that good prince admires,
Dismiss'd with safety the bold youth retires.
Happy the hand whose praise from errour grown
Had from success inferior honour known.

THERE is a noble kind of Epigram that concludes with a moral sentence fitly applied to some action. MARTIAL sometimes excels that way. The reader will see a beautiful instance of it in the following Epigram.

*Quod magni Thraseæ consummatique Catonis*
*Dogmata sic sequeris, salvus ut esse velis,*
*Pectore nec nudo strictos incurris in enses*
*Quod fecisse velim te, Deciane, facis.*
*Nolo virum facili redimit qui sanguine famam;*
*Hunc volo laudari qui sine morte potest.*

Lib. I. Ep. 9.

*Cato* and *Thrasea*'s virtues that you dare
Nobly to follow, yet of life take care,
Nor desp'rate on the pointed weapon fall;
This conduct, *Decianus*, pleases all.
I like not him who dies to purchase name,
But him whose conduct guards both life and fame.

HAVING thus examined several kinds of Epigrams of a serious turn, I shall proceed in the same manner with some that are enlivened by a more pleasant vein of wit.

THERE are some, in which an elegant enumeration of circustances preparatory to the turn, is sometimes requisite to make the Epigram compleat. The parts ought here to be agreeably distributed, the expression easy, clear, and lively: This may make a low subject shine. The following Epigram will shew MARTIAL's success this way.

*Occurrit tibi nemo quod libenter,*
*Quod quacunque venis fuga est, & ingens*
*Circa te, Ligurine, solitudo;*
*Quid sit, scire cupis? nimis poeta es:*
*Hoc valde vitium periculosum.*

*Nam*

*Nam tantos rogo quis ferat labores?*
*Et ſtanti legis, & legis ſedenti,*
*Currenti legis, & legis canenti;*
*In Thermas fugio, ſonas ad aurem:*
*Piſcinam peto, non licet natare;*
*Ad cœnam propero, tenes euntem:*
*Ad cœnam venio, fugas ſedentem:*
*Laſſus dormio, ſuſcitas jacentem.*
*Vis quantum mali facias videre,*
*Vir juſtus, probus, innocens, timeris.* Lib. 3. Ep. 44.

That you ſhould no kind welcome meet,
Nor any friend your coming greet;
That all men your approaches fly,
Surpriz'd you aſk the reaſon why;
The reaſon! too much Poetry,
A dang'rous fault, big with offence;
For who can bear th' impertinence?
Whether I ſit, ſtand, run, or ſing,
Your verſes in my ears muſt ring.
When I go bathe, the Poet's there,
And ſounds heroics in my ear.
By friends invited would I go,
I'm ſtop'd to mark thy numbers flow.
To take a dinner if I come,
Your verſes drive me faſting home.
When wearied I lie down to reſt,
That with rehearſals you moleſt.
By this one folly ſee what miſchief's done!
The juſt, good man we for the Poet ſhun.

THIS next is of the ſame kind, and though ſhorter, equally beautiful for the neat diſtribution of the parts, and the humour of the turn.

*Ne valeam ſi non totis, Deciane, diebus,*
*Et tecum totis noctibus eſſe velim:*
*Sed duo ſunt, quæ nos diſtinguunt, millia paſſûm,*
*Quatuor hæc fiunt cum rediturus eam.*
*Sæpe domi non es; cum ſis quoque ſæpe negaris;*
*Vel tantum cauſſis, vel tibi ſæpe vacas.*

*Te tamen ut videam duo millia non piget ire;*
*Ut te non videam quatuor ire piget.* Lib. 2. Ep. 5.

Both day and night with pleasure I could spend
To have the company of such a friend:
But 'tis two miles from me to you, two more
In walking home, which makes the journey four.
You're oft abroad, and when at home deny'd
For bus'ness, health, and God knows what beside.
Two miles I'd go to see a friend like you,
But four miles not to see you! Sir, adieu.

THERE are some Epigrams of this sort, which MARTIAL has brought within the compass of one Distich, including the narration and the turn. The following is a pleasant instance of it, but I could not preserve the conciseness of the Original in the translation.

*Omnia promittis cum tota nocte bibisti:*
*Mane nihil præstas, Posthume, mane bibas.*
Lib. 12. Ep. 12.

After drinking all night, in a maudlin kind fit,
You promise me fair, but next morning forget.
To make you keep true to your word, the best way
Is to get you well drunk against break of day.

I shall add another of this kind, which Mr. *Addison* has translated in the Spectator, and pleasantly applied to the good old Knight Sir *Roger*, who was sometimes as full of his beautiful widow as the Person *Martial* describes was of his *Nævia.*

*Quicquid agit Rufus, nihil est nisi Nævia Rufo:*
*Si gaudet, si flet, si tacet, hanc loquitur.*
*Cœnat, propinat, poscit, negat, annuit, una est*
*Nævia, si non sit Nævia, mutus erit.*
*Scriberet hesterna patri cum luce salutem,*
*Nævia lux, inquit, Nævia, numen, ave.*
Lib. 1. Eb. 69.

Let *Rufus* weep, rejoice, stand, sit, or walk,
Still he can nothing but of *Nævia* talk:

Let

Let him eat, drink, ask questions, or dispute,
Still he must speak of *Nævia*, or be mute,
He wrote to's Father ending with this line,
I am my lovely *Nævia* ever thine.

MARTIAL has succeeded in such Epigrams as are properly speaking without any turn, being after the manner of that simplicity which is so beautiful in some of *Catullus*'s. The following is one instance out of several, and I think perfect in its kind.

*Non donec tibi cur meos libellos,*
*Oranti toties & exigenti*
*Mararis Theodore? magna caussa est;*
*Dones tu mihi ne tuos libellos.* Lib. 5. Ep. 73.
Cease, *Theodorus*, to admire,
Tho' often you my works admire,
That I them still refuse to give:
'Tis that I may not yours receive.

BUT there are some of these which by the too frequent use of the *Antithesis*, lose that character of humour in which the beauty of these Epigrams seems chiefly to consist.

*Insequeris, fugio; fugis, insequor, hoc mihi mens est,*
*Velle tuum nolo Dyndime, nolle volo.* Lib. 5. Ep. 84.
This *Dyndimus*, is my design, to fly
What you pursue, what you decline to try;
What you commend my humor disapproves,
But what you hate my wanton fancy loves.

AN excellent Epigram of this kind is that celebrated distich of *Virgil*'s, wherein he has paid the finest compliment to *Augustus*, that ever Poet did to his Patron in two lines, and upon so inconsiderable a circumstance as that on which the thought is founded. This little performance was the dawn of a great Genius.

*Nocte pluit tota redeunt spectacula mane:*
*Divisum Imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet.*

All

All night it rains, with day the ſhow return;
Thus *Jove* and *Cæſar* rule the world by turns.

It would be time loſt to take notice of the many little witticiſms and falſe turns to be met with among Martial's Epigrams. I ſhall obſerve in general, that all meer alluſions to words, equivocations and obſcene hints are vitious, however they met with a toleration and even countenance among the ancients. His own neceſſity and the corrupt taſte of the public are the beſt apology that can be made for him; as he lived chiefly by his wits, he was often obliged to compoſe to pleaſe the taſte of the ill judging many, and that this was the caſe of his Epigrams in general he has the modeſty to acknowledge himſelf.

*Sunt bona, ſunt quædam mediocria, ſunt mala plura,*
*Quæ legis hic: Aliter non fit, avite, liber.*

Reader to books of Epigrams be kind:
Few good, indifferent ſome, more bad you'll find.

I hope the aforeſaid remarks and examples will aſſiſt the leſs knowing reader in forming a right judgment of Epigrams in general, as well as of Martial's in particular. Upon the whole, it appears that his Genius was extenſive and lively; no ſubject came amiſs to him, and he was certainly capable, had the good taſte of the age encouraged him to it, to keep up the ſpirit of this kind of Poetry, without the poor helps of falſe wit and obſcenity. As for his ſtile it is various, according to the ſubject; he does not often riſe to the ſublime, and his expreſſion is neither ſo pure nor ſo correct as that of *Catullus*. It is evident from ſeveral of Martial's Epigrams, that his works were received with applauſe in moſt parts of the *Roman* Empire: This he is allowed to declare himſelf by an indulgence peculiarly allowed to Poets of praiſing themſelves.

*Hic eſt quem legis, ille quem requiris,*
*Toto notus in orbe Martialis,*
*Argutis Epigrammatôn Libellis*, &c. Lib. 1. Ep. 1.

But

But for fear the reader should refuse to admit the Poet as a sufficient witness in his own cause, I will produce a letter of *Pliny*'s, addressed to *Cornelius Priscus*, whom I take to be the same *Priscus*, that the Poet has dedicated his 12th book to, and was his friend and patron, and a man of Consular dignity. It is the 21st of the 3d book.

" I hear Martial is dead, and am very sorry for " it. He was a man of an easy, agreeable, and likely " wit, who knew very well how to temper the seve- " rity of Satire with the pleasantry of Wit, without " a mixture of ill nature. Upon his leaving *Rome*, I " made him a present towards the expences of his " journey. This I owed to the friendship I had for " him, as well as to the verses he had addressed to me. " It was customary with our ancestors handsomely to " requite all those whose writings had contributed " to the glory of particular places or persons. But " this among other good customs is now laid aside: " For since we have ceased doing what is praise-wor- " thy, we are grown careless of praise. Perhaps you " have a curiosity to know what these verses were, " which I thought so deserving of acknowledgment. " I would send you to his book, if I did not remem- " ber some of them. If you like these, the rest you " may find in the collection of his works. Speaking " to his Muse, the Poet charges her to wait on me at " my house on the *Esquiline* hill, and address her self " to me in a very respectful manner.

*Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam*
*Pulses ebria januam, videto;*
*Totos dat tetricæ dies Minervæ,*
*Dum centum studet auribus virorum,*
*Hoc quod sæcula, posterique possint*
*Arpinis quoque comparare chartis:*
*Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas.*
*Hæc hora est tua, quum furit Lιæus*
*Quum regnat rosa, quum madent Capilli:*
*Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.* Lib. 10. Ep. 19.

Whilst

Whilst *Pliny* studies that persuasive art
Which moves the rigid wondring magistrate;
Ages to come, like ours, will all confess,
His Eloquence does *Tully*'s best express.
Forbear, rash Muse, to interrupt his time,
So well employ'd, with thy intruding Rhime:
Observe the hour, soon as the sun's decline
Invites to mirth, to supper and to wine:
That season's yours, when rosy garlands crown
Each brow, and *Cato*'s stern forget to frown.

"Are you not of my opinion, that he, who spoke of "me in this manner, deserved to receive some small "marks of my affection at his departure from *Rome*, "and of my sorrow for his death? He gave me as "much as was in his power to give: and indeed what "greater gift can a man receive from his friend, than "immortal glory? But perhaps MARTIAL's Poems "may not be immortal; should I grant it, yet you "must allow that he wrote them with this view." Thus far *Pliny*.

IF that great man's generous nature made him sensible of his obligation to the Poet, and prompted him to be liberal to him in return, nothing but MARTIAL's real merit could induce a man of his sincerity to speak so advantageously of him after his death. The Verses above are part of a kind of Epistle Dedicatory to *Pliny*, to whom MARTIAL sent a volume of his Epigrams.

BUT before I close this writer's life, it may be expected that I should say something more particularly concerning the looser part of his works.

THOUGH it is true, as has been already observed in the life of *Catullus*, that some of the gravest and best men among the Ancients did sometimes indulge a loose vein of Poetry, and particularly about the time of their *Saturnalia*, a festival among them that fell out about the time of our Christmas; yet one is still at a loss to conceive how they could reconcile this Practice with their own excellent notions of moral virtue and

public decency. MARTIAL alludes in one of his Epigrams to the following ſtory.

AT the time the Games in honour of *Flora* were celebrating on the theatre at *Rome*, upon *Cato*'s coming in there, the obſcene dances ceaſed for a while; the very Actors being as it were aſhamed to proceed in the preſence of that virtuous man. The Hiſtorian obſerves, that *Cato* was ſurprized at the diſcontinuance of the entertainment, but being told the reaſon by a friend of his that ſate by him, he went out of the theatre; the people ſhewed their applauſe by a loud clap, and then the diverſion went on. Is it not almoſt unaccountable, if we did not conſider the force of cuſtom, that a great and wiſe nation ſhould not be aſhamed of a religious entertaiment and ſolemnity, for in this light the *Romans* conſidered theſe lewd Games called the *Floralia*, which they were aſhamed to perform in the preſence of *Cato!* MARTIAL only laughs at *Cato*'s abſurdity in coming into the theatre on this occaſion.

*Noſſes jocoſæ dulce cum ſacrum Floræ,*
*Feſtoſque luſus & licentiam vulgi;*
*Cur in theatrum, Cato ſevere, veniſti?*
*An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires?* Lib. 1. Ep. 3.

Knowing what jocund ſports and leud delights
Attend the ſtage at *Flora*'s ſacred rites,
The wanton vulgar's joy: why didſt thou come,
Stern *Cato*, there? to go thence faſter home?

COULD one imagine that they who frequented theſe repreſentations were the ſame people, among whom the nicer rules of decency were ſo rigorouſly obſerved, that a Senator was fined for ſaluting his wife before his ſon! But when we look into the hiſtory of their Gods, every thing there preſents us with a ſcene of lewdneſs and infamy; and the greateſt vices might from thence borrow their ſanction and recommendation. Surely were their virtuous men to have reflected impartially on the inconſiſtency of their own conduct

conduct and principles, and how their reason and religion were as it were in open contradiction, they would have abolished such infamous diversions: But this is too serious an enquiry for me to make; I leave their public lewdness and MARTIAL's obscenity, as things no less abominable than unaccountable, to the just detestation of all those who profess to have any regard, I need not say to religion, but to common decency and good breeding.

THE

# THE
# LIFE
## OF
# JUVENAL.

WITHOUT entering into a tedious examination of the different opinions of commentators about the birth and age of JUVENAL, I ſhall endeavour to ſettle both as near as I can, by ſuch ſcattered hints as I have collected from his own writings. The account of his life, by ſome attributed to *Suetonius*, but more probably to *Probus* the Grammarian, is found in different manuſcripts with conſiderable variations; and *Suidas* is not always to be depended upon in his. However, ſuch points as both theſe writers of antiquity are agreed in, we may make uſe of, as having an appearance of truth, eſpecially where we can get no better information.

JUVENAL was born, about the beginning of *Claudius*'s reign, at *Aquinum*, a town belonging to the territory of the antient *Volci* in *Campania*, and ſince celebrated for having given birth to *Thomas* ſirnamed *Aquinas*, the famous father of ſcholaſtic philoſophy. Our Poet's father was a rich freed man, who gave him a liberal education, and agreeably to the taſte of the age, bred him up to the ſtudy of eloquence, in which he made great progreſs, firſt under *Fronto* the Grammarian, and afterwards, as it is generally conjectured, under *Quintilian*, who is thought to have ſeen ſome of his firſt ſatires, and to commend them, though he does not name the Poet; where he

ſays, ſpeaking of the *Roman* ſatire, *Sunt clare hodie quoque & qui olim nominabuntur* *.

JUVENAL contracted an early friendſhip with *Martial* the Poet, who addreſſes three ſeveral Epigrams to him, *Lib.* 7. *Ep.* 23. and 91. where he gives him the title of *the Eloquent*, and proves that JUVENAL follow'd the Bar, and the 18th *Ep.* of *Lib.* 12. The laſt being written by *Martial* after he was retired to *Bilboa*, which was under *Trajan*, and ſpeaks of JUVENAL as a man yet in full vigour, ſeems to argue that JUVENAL had written but few ſatires yet; or why ſhould he not have mentioned them in a private epiſtle to ſo intimate a friend, when *Domitian*, JUVENAL's enemy, was dead, and *Martial* himſelf had now no more meaſures to keep with any other great men that might think themſelves attacked by the Satiriſt. This circumſtance of *Martial*'s ſilence convinces me, that JUVENAL never profeſſed Poetry, and that his Satires were written very late; that he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf many years by his eloquence at the Bar, and had improved his fortune and intereſt at *Rome* before he thought of Poetry, the very ſtile of which in his Satires ſpeaks a long habit of declaiming; *Subactum redolent declamatorem*, ſay the Critics of his Satires: And we are told that he recited his firſt eſſay, which he made being above forty, to a ſmall audience of his friends: but being encouraged by their applauſe, he hazarded a greater publication; which reaching the ears of *Paris*, *Domitian*'s chief favourite at that time, though but a *Pantomime* Player, whom the Satiriſt had ſeverely inſulted in the Satire, that *Minion* made his complaint to the Emperor, who ſent the offending Poet into baniſhment, under the pretence of giving him the Prefecture of a cohort that was to be quartered in that city of *Egypt*. He was not idle during his ſtay there, but made ſuch obſervations of the ridiculous ſuperſtition and religious differences of that blind people, as he afterwards

* *Inſt. Orat.* Lib. 10. Cap. 1.

wrought

wrought up into a Satire, which is the 15th in the order they are commonly publiſhed. But let us ſee this paſſage for which the Satiriſt was thus diſgraced: This perhaps with other favourite paſſages he has preſerved, by inſerting them into ſome of thoſe Satires which we now have, and ſeem to have been all written ſince his return from *Ægypt*.

*Curritur ad vocem jucundam, & carmen amicæ*
*Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,*
*Promiſitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos*
*Afficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi*
*Auditur! ſed cum fregit ſubſellia verſu,*
*Eſurit, intactam Paridi niſi vendit Agaven.*
*Ille & militiæ multis largitur honorem,*
*Semeſtri vatum digitos circumligat auro.*
*Quod non dant proceres, dabit hiſtrio*—Sat. 7. Ver. 81.

All *Rome* is pleas'd when *Statius* will rehearſe,
And longing crowds expect the promis'd verſe.
His lofty numbers with ſo great a guſt
They hear, and ſwallow with ſuch eager luſt:
But while the common ſuffrage crown'd his cauſe,
And broke the benches with their loud applauſe,
His Muſe had ſtarv'd, had not a piece unread,
And by a Player bought, ſupply'd her bread.
He can diſpoſe of honours and commands,
The pow'r of *Rome* is in an Actor's hands;
The peaceful gown and military ſword:
The bounteous Play'r outgives the pinching Lord.
*Dryden.*

After *Domitian*'s death, Juvenal returned to *Rome*, ſufficiently cautioned not only againſt attacking the characters of thoſe in power under arbitrary princes, but againſt all perſonal reflections upon the great men living; and therefore he thus wiſely concludes the debate he is ſuppoſed to have maintained with a friend of his on this head, in the firſt Satire, which ſeems the firſt that he wrote after his being recalled from baniſhment.

——*Experiar quid concedatur in illos*
*Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina:*
Since none the living villains dare implead,
Arraign them in the perſons of the dead. *Dryden.*

Mr. *Dryden* has very imperfectly rendered his Author's meaning: JUVENAL, after having heard the danger which his friend aſſures him will attend his attacking the great men then living, cloſes the conference with this reſolution, "Then I will try what "liberties I may be allowed with thoſe whoſe aſhes "lye under the *Flaminian* and *Latin* ways." All along thoſe two famous roads the *Romans* of the firſt quality uſed to be buried. The *Engliſh* reader muſt excuſe it, if in many other places the *Latin* is not truly rendered; let him read Lord *Roſcommon*'s excellent Poem on tranſlated verſe, and then he will be able to judge how difficult it is, not to ſay often impoſſible, ſtrictly to give the ſenſe, and at the ſame time preſerve the ſpirit of the original. I thought myſelf obliged to make this digreſſion in juſtice to the memory of *Dryden*, who has given us excellent tranſlations of *Juvenal*, *Virgil*, and other *Latin* Poets; though he is in general much inferior to his originals, and often miſtakes their meaning, or renders it in a looſe manner. Far be it from me to have the vanity to think I have not failed where that great genius could not help erring. As I have only tranſlated ſome quotations out of ſuch Poets as had never been tranſlated by others, or at leaſt not by any of our great maſters, I might, though no Poet, be able in a few rhimes to give the ſenſe of my author more exactly than they who tranſlated a whole Poem. But to return to JUVENAL.

IN his 4th Satire, where he expoſes the infamous debaucheries and luxury of *Domitian*'s court, he ſpeaks of him as dead ſome time before the writing of that Satire.

*Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dediſſet*
*Tempora ſævitiæ, claras quibus abſtulit urbi*
*Illuſtreſque*

*Illuſtreſque animas impune, & vindice nullo:*
*Sed periit poſtquam cerdonibus eſſe timendus*
*Cœperat, hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.*
Sat. 4. Ver. 150.

THE 13th Satire is addreſſed to his friend *Calvinus*, who he ſays was born under the Conſulſhip of *Fonteius Capito:*

——*Qui jam poſt terga reliquit*
*Sexaginta annos, Fonteio conſule natus.*

(Which anſwers to the year of *Rome* 811, and the 6th of *Nero*'s reign); and was ſixty years old at the time of the Poet's writing this Satire, which therefore was the year of *Rome* 871, and anſwers to the beginning of the 3d year of *Adrian*'s reign. From all which I infer, that JUVENAL was at this time above ſeventy: for ſince he is on all hands ſaid to be born under *Claudian*, we may fix it to the middle or 6th year of that Emperor's reign; and ſuppoſing, with all Authors that ſpeak of his death, that he attained to eighty, he died about the 11th year of *Adrian*'s reign.

As to his perſon, we are told that he was of a large ſtature, which made ſome think him to be of *Gallic* extraction. We meet with nothing relating to his moral character or way of life, but both from the manner of his puniſhment by *Domitian*, and the whole tenour of his writings, he ſeems to have been a friend to ſobriety and virtue.

As to what I have ſaid of his writing all the Satires now extant after his return from *Egypt*, ſome make this objection, That what is alledged from the laſt lines of the 1ſt Satire above quoted, is not a full proof of the matter: For it may be ſuppoſed, ſay they, that the Satiriſt made this declaration the better to cover his real deſign; for by this means he might hope with ſecurity and under feigned names to expoſe the vices of *Domitian*'s court in ſome Satires which he publiſhed in *Domitian*'s life time; and ſuch a Satire they will have the 7th to be, out of which I have produced the paſſage that is ſuppoſed to have been the oc-

casion of his banishment. But I think it evident, that *Trajan* is the generous Prince that is said by JUVENAL to be the only encourager of learning; but that, according to the plan laid down in his 1st Satire, he brings instances of a discouragement from a late reign namely *Domitian*'s: and taking them in this light, we shall find all that is said in that Satire to be very properly introduced, and among the rest the famous one above-mentioned about *Paris*, who, though at first but an Actor when he became the Emperor's favourite, was the only patron the learned could find at that Prince's court. But I leave this dispute to the reader's discretion, who, upon examining the reasons on both sides, will readily see which opinion is the most probable.

As Satire seems to have arrived to its highest perfection in JUVENAL, it will not be foreign to the present purpose to premise some observations on its rise and progress, before we come to treat of JUVENAL's Satires in particular.

THE *Latin* word *Satira*, whence comes our *Satire*, has nothing in its original signification like that which the moderns have affixed to it. Learned men are now agreed, that *Satira* or *Satura* is an adjective depending on the substantive *Lanx* understood, which signify together, a basket filled with all sorts of Fruit. It was afterwards applied to signify other different things mixed together. Thus those laws were called *Saturæ leges*, which had several heads or titles, and a collection of various histories was called *Historia satura*; and when the Senators gave their votes promiscuously together, they were said *per saturam ferre sententias*; and when applied to Poetry, the word retained its signification, such Poems as were composed on miscellaneous subjects being by the old *Romans* called *Satires*.

As to that kind of Poetry properly so called, it was long before it came to any considerable Improvement, taking its rude beginning from the coarse wit and raillery of the people when assembled at their harvest

feasts;

feasts: and something like was for a long time after kept up among the *Romans* at the time of their celebrating the *Saturnalia*. These rustic jests were in time improved into their *Fescennine* verses; and now there began to be something like Poetry produced on these occasions. They took their name from a town in *Tuscany*, whose natives first introduced them among the *Romans*. They were in the nature of dialogues, intermixed with songs and dances.

*Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem,*
*Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.*

Hence those loose dialogues at solemn feasts;
Yet still they were but mirth and country jests.
*Creech.*

Not long after these Dialogues the first use of Satire came in, which was borrowed from the *Greek* satirical plays, and were a low kind of Tragi-comedy, but had yet arrive to no exactness. From the medley of subjects which generally composed these dramatic pieces, they were called *Satiræ*; but the lewdness of the *Fescennine* verses was excluded. They were the first theatrical representations at *Rome*, and continued in vogue till *Livius Andronicus* set himself, after the manner of the *Greeks*, to write regular plays. This new improvement of his made the Satires fall into contempt and disuse for a long time; *Nævius* and others pursuing the same method with *Livius* in imitating and translating the *Greek* plays; and *Ennius* did the same, but he having a genius to all kinds of Poetry, and an inclination to the old satiric pieces, imagined, that if the same spirit and variety were preserved in Poems not calculated for the stage, it would meet with the public approbation: Accordingly he published some Poems of this sort, and called them Satires, allowing himself the liberty of all kinds of measure, as appears from the fragments. *Horace* found some things in them worthy of imitation, as *Virgil* did in his Poem on the second *Punic* war. *Pacuvius* who flourished a little after *Ennius*,

followed his method in writing Satires as well as Plays. *Lucilius* who ſucceeded *Pacuvius*, applied himſelf entirely to this kind of Poetry, which he very much improved, by confining himſelf to the Hexameter verſe, and imitating entirely the *Greek* Iambic writers and the old *Greek* comic Poets in the ſharpneſs of his invectives and cenſures. But in *Horace*'s opinion his numbers were rough, his ſtile incorrect, and corrupted by an affectation of mixing *Greek* with *Latin*. But *Quintilian* is of opinion that *Horace* has cenſured him too ſeverely, and ſets him as much above thoſe ſevere cenſures, as he thinks him beneath that applauſe ſome admirers of the old Poets ſtill gave him in his time.

*Horace* ſucceeded and corrected all his faults, and gave Satire all the perfection that was conſiſtent wiih his own deſign, which was to be agreeable rather than bitter, to be familiar, inſinuating and inſtructive, and therefore affected a ſtyle that ſhould be plain, witty and elegant. *Perſius*, agreeably to the dignity of the *Stoic* philoſophy, which he profeſſed, choſe to inſtruct and reform, rather than pleaſe, and wrote in a higher ſtile: But his ſeverity is too great, and his character is ſo ſerious, that wit miſbecomes him, where-ever he ſeems to aim at it. JUVENAL has undoubtedly improved on both: He is elegant and witty with *Horace*, grave and ſublime with *Perſius*, and to both their characters has added the pomp of his own eloquence, which makes him the moſt entertaining, as well as the cleareſt writer of the three. But in this he differs from *Horace*, that as he uſed a low, comic ſtile, JUVENAL raiſes his to the height of tragedy, as he ſays himſelf; which no Satiriſt before him had yet attempted.

*Fingimus hæc altum Satira ſumente Cothurnum,*
*Scilicet & finem aggreſſi, legemque priorum*
*Grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu*
*Montibus ignotum Rutulis cæloque Latino.*

BUT this the Poet does not ſay out of vanity, but led

led to it from the nature of his ſubject; ſo elſewhere he undervalues his Poetry, where he would inſinuate that the wickedneſs of the times would provoke a man to write Satires, even though he had no genius for Poetry.

*Si natura negat, facit indignatio verſum*
*Qualemcunque poteſt; quales ego vel Cluvienus.*

It has very juſtly been obſerved, that there never was a greater fall in ſtile, than from the Odes of *Horace* to his Satires; and though he did it with deſign, the indolence of his temper might be one motive to his doing ſo. The ſame indolence made him decline celebrating the praiſes of *Auguſtus* in ſome conſiderable Poem, notwithſtanding the many inſtances that Prince made him to undertake ſuch a work. But this negligence of his ſhould by no means be miſunderſtood as a rule for the ſtile of Satire: And we find the beſt modern Poets among the *Italians*, the *French* and Us, have choſen to imitate Juvenal in this particular rather than *Horace*: for ſurely the magnificence of ſtile and the beauty of numbers will adorn the thoughts, and lively turns and bold figures will add weight and energy to the expreſſions. As to the purity of diction's being on *Horace*'s ſide, that was the fault of the times, not of Juvenal, who ſeems to have been an accompliſhed Orator before he applied himſelf to Poetry. This was *Ovid*'s excellency likewiſe, and yet he was never thought the worſe Poet for it; ſo that they who pretend to find the declamatory ſtile in his writings ſhew their prejudice more than their underſtanding. *Lucan*'s ſtile has more of this vehemence in it, yet I think he is very far from having a proſaic ſtile as well as Juvenal. 'Tis a coldneſs of fancy deſtitute of ſpirit and genius that makes a Poet loyter into Proſe.

It may be convenient in this place to obviate an objection commonly made to the licentious boldneſs of Juvenal's expreſſions, which is of two kinds; the one, of expoſing men's perſons and names, as

well as their vices; the other, of running into ſubjects not decent to be mentioned, and calling ſome things too plainly by their common names.

In anſwer to the firſt, it may be ſaid, that thoſe he has expoſed, by naming them, were either dead for the moſt part, or perſons ſo loſt to all honour and virtue, that it was a piece of juſtice to lay open their characters; if poſſible, thereby to deter the reſt of the world from imitating their abominable vices: not but that he has often ſuppreſſed their real names, and been content to make them known by deſcribing them, which he took care to do by ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks, that you could not but know who was pointed at.

As to the other point, if he be found guilty of it, he is not to be vindicated nor excuſed for ſo doing: But before it is given againſt him we are to conſider firſt, whether the licentiouſneſs of the times was not ſuch, as might make it neceſſary to cenſure the moſt enormous vices; and ſecondly, whether he has been altogether as broad in his expreſſions as is commonly imagined.

With regard to the firſt, it is evident, no age of the world more openly gloried in the moſt infamous debauchery than that he lived in the former part of his life: And if the end of Satire is a reformation of manners, it were an idle attempt to think to effect it, by Innuendo's and a few general hints. Such men were to be ſtung home and cut to the quick to make their callous minds the leaſt ſenſible of the vileneſs of their manners. But when all the monſtrous circumſtances of the lewd ſcene were ſtrongly painted and expoſed to public view in the blackeſt colours, then guilt muſt ſurely fly in their faces for what they had committed, and their conſciences muſt awake from that lethargy in which they had been laid; as he ſays it happened to the great men at *Rome*, whom *Lucilius* had expoſed ſome ages before.

*Enſe velut ſtricto quoties Lucilius ardens* " "

*Infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est*
*Criminibus, tacita sudant præcordia culpa.* Sat. 1.

But when *Lucilius* brandishes his pen,
And flashes in the face of guilty men,
A cold sweat stands in drops on ev'ry part.

*Dryden.*

As to his expressions, it does not appear that he has not avoided the more gross expressions, though the general practice of the antients was too licentious in this particular: But I might justify the Satirist much better, by urging the authority of some of the Fathers, who thought themselves obliged in direct terms many times to expose the obscene ceremonies and lewd mythology of the Heathens: as in a lethargy the strongest and most offensive smells are sometimes applied to provoke the patient to sneeze. And what other way was sufficient to discountenance the enormities that were become almost the common practice, by the detestable example and encouragement of *Nero*'s and *Domitian*'s court. *Lucilius* had practised this method before succesfully in much better times; and the liberty of the old *Greek* Comedy had been found useful to the public at *Athens*, or it would not have continued 'till the thirty tyrants set up by the *Lacedemonians* thought fit to restrain it, that their oppressions might not be made public and exposed on the theatre. That *Lucilius* imitated this liberty of the *Greek* Poets, we are assured by *Horace*.

*Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque Poetæ,*
*Atque alii quorum Comœdia prisca virorum est,*
*Si quis erat dignus describi quod malus, aut fur,*
*Quod mœchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui*
*Famosus, multa cum libertate notabant,*
*Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus.*

Lib. 1. Sat. 4. Ver. 1.

*Cratin* and *Eupolis* that lash'd the age,
Those old Comedian Furies of the Stage,
If they were to describe a vile, unjust,
And cheating knave, or scourge a lawless lust,

Or other crimes; regardless of his fame
They show'd the man, and boldly told his name.
This is *Lucilius*' way, he follows those. *Creech.*

After all that has been alledged, this licentious stile is not justifiable, even in the best light we can place it, and is what no polite writer, to say no more, will attempt to imitate.

But let us now look into some passages of Juvenal's Satires, which will naturally help us to discover his principles and genius: for a man of his impetuous spirit seems hardly capable of disguising his real sentiments. In this view he will appear a true generous spirited *Roman*, a friend to liberty and virtue. How finely does he enforce the necessity, as well as shew the advantage of moderation, with respect to the desire of riches! yet in the midst of the severest precepts he discovers a rational regard for the weakness of human nature, which cannot content it self with the meer necessaries of life.

——— *Mensura tamen quæ*
*Sufficiat census, si quis me consulit, edam:*
*In quantum sitis atque fames & frigora poscunt,*
*Quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis,*
*Quantum Socratici ceperunt ante Penates.*
*Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit:*
*Acribus exemplis videor te claudere? misce*
*Ergo aliquid nostris de moribus; effice summam*
*Bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.*
*Hæc quoque si rugam trahit, extenditque labellum,*
*Sume duos equites; fac tertia quadringenta.*
*Si nondum implevi gremium, si panditur ultra*
*Nec Crœsi fortuna unquam, nec Persica regna*
*Sufficient animo, nec divitiæ Narcissi.*

Sat. 14. Ver. 317.

Upon mentioning *Narcissus* that wicked and overgrown favourite of the Emperor *Claudius*, he cannot forbear adding two lines to shew the weakness of the Prince, and to what monstrous degree the favourite abused it.

*Indulsit*

*Indulsit Cæsar cui Claudius omnia, cujus*
*Paruit imperiis uxorem occidere jussus.*

If any ask me what would satisfy,
To make life easy, I would thus reply:
As much as keeps out hunger, thirst, and cold,
Or what contented *Socrates* of old;
As much as made wise *Epicurus* blest,
Who in small gardens spacious realms possest.
This is what Nature's wants may well suffice,
He that wou'd more, is covetous, not wise,
But since among mankind so few there are,
Who will conform to Philosophic fare;
Thus much I will indulge thee for thy ease,
And mingle something of our times to please:
Therefore enjoy a plentiful estate,
As much as will a Knight of *Rome* create,
By *Roscian* law: and if that will not do,
Double, and take as much as will make two;
Nay, three, to satisfy thy last desire:
But if to more than this thou dost aspire,
Believe me, all the riches of the East,
The wealth of *Cræsus* cannot make thee blest.
The treasure *Claudius* to *Narcissus* gave
Would make thee, *Claudius* like, an arrant slave,
Who to obey his mighty Minion's will
Did his lov'd Empress *Messalina* kill. *Dryden*.

Such unexpected strokes of Satire as this on *Claudius* and *Narcissus* are frequent in this Poet, and always happily introduced. I know none of them of a more agreeable turn than the following, where he seems only to use that common figure among Poets, when they would make the reader conceive how impossible it is for them to describe some extraordinary circumstance, as it deserves. *Boileau* in his *Lutrin*, *Garth* in his *Dispensary*, and Mr. *Pope* in his *Dunciad*, have very successfully imitated this as well as many other of Juvenal's beauties.

——*Circumsilet agmine facto*
*Morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quæras,*

*Promptius*

*Promptius expediam; quot amaverit Hippia mœchos;*
*Quot Themison ægros autumno occiderit uno;*
*Quot Basilus socios; quot circumscripseris Hirrus*
*Pupillos,* &c.——— Sat. 10. Ver. 218.

In fine, he wears no limb about him sound,
With sores and sicknesses beleaguer'd round:
Ask me their names, I sooner could relate
How many drudges on salt *Hippia* wait;
What crowds of patients the Town-Doctor kills;
Or how last Fall he rais'd the weekly Bills:
What provinces by *Basilus* were spoil'd;
What hords of heirs by guardians are beguil'd.
*Dryden.*

The uncommon severity and impartiality of his Satire is well worth our notice in Juvenal. So where he has occasion to censure the profane abuse of the most solemn oaths among the *Romans*, who had formerly paid so religious a regard to them, he at the same time exposes some of the absurd and ridiculous forms of swearing then in use among them. The translator was forced to omit them, as not being able to render them without such circumlocutions as would have been both dull and tedious.

——*Aspice quanta*
*Voce negat, quæ sit ficti constantia vultus!*
*Per Solis radios, Tarpeïaque fulmina jurat,*
*Et Martis frameam, & Cyrrhæi spicula vatis.*
*Per calamos venatrices pharetramque Puellæ,*
*Perque tuum, pater Ægei Neptune, Tridentem;*
*Addit & Herculeos arcus, hastamque Minervæ:*
*Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria Cœli.*
Sat. 13. Ver. 76.

Observe the wretch who has his faith forsook,
How clear his voice, and how assur'd his look
Like Innocence, and as serenely bold
As Truth; how loudly he forswears his gold!
By *Neptune*'s Trident, by the Bolt of *Jove*,
And all the magazine of wrath above! *Dryden.*

In the ſame Satire, whereas according to the heathen opinion *Jupiter* was wont to expreſs his indignation at the wickedneſs of men, by a loud voice, as *Homer* tells us; Juvenal very boldly ridicules this notion, and the folly of worſhipping ſo many uſeleſs and ſenſeleſs images of the Gods. At *Rome* it is to be obſerved that their number was almoſt infinite; for the *Romans* very politically adopted the Gods of all the conquered nations for their own.

——————*Audis*
*Jupiter hæc, nec labra moves? cum mittere vocem*
*Debueris, vel marmoreus, vel æneus; aut cur*
*In carbone tuo charta pia thura ſoluta*
*Ponimus, & ſectum vituli jecur, albaque porci*
*Omenta? ut video, nullum diſcrimen habendum eſt,*
*Effigies inter veſtras ſtatuamque Bathylli.*
Sat. 13. Ver. 113.

*Jove* doſt thou hear, and is thy thunder tame?
Wert thou all braſs, thy brazen arm ſhould rage
And fix the wretch a ſign to future age;
Elſe why ſhould mortals to thy feaſt repair,
Spend uſeleſs incenſe, and more uſeleſs pray'r?
*Bathillus*' ſtatue at this rate may prove
Thy equal rival, or a greater *Jove*. *Dryden.*

A little before in the ſame Satire, the Poet, ſpeaking of the innocence of the golden age, gives a ludicrous account of the many Deities, with whoſe worſhip the world had not yet been troubled, and concludes his deſcription with this ſevere reflection on their numbers in his time.

——————*Nec turba Deorum*
*Talis ut eſt hodie, contentaque ſidera paucis*
*Numinibus, miſerum urgebant Atlanta minore*
*Pondere*—————— Sat. 13. Ver. 46.

E'er Gods grew numerous, and the heav'nly crowd
Preſs'd wretched *Atlas* with a lighter load.
*Dryden.*

And the Poet has elſewhere no leſs truly than ſeverely

verely exposed the infamous character of the greatest of those Deities.

*Quis tamen affirmat nihil actum in montibus, aut in Speluncis? adeo senuerunt Jupiter & Mars?*
Sat. 6. Ver. 58.

And yet some lustful God might there make bold;
Are *Jove* and *Mars* grown impotent and old?
*Dryden.*

SHALL I call it art, or a happy genius, that though he generally rails, and is full of the sharpest invectives, yet JUVENAL is as witty and perhaps more diverting than *Horace*, who studied to be so? It is certain he seldom fails to provoke your laughter, even whilst he is raising your indignation; which talent of his is evidently seen in the three last quotations.

BUT when he is wholly bent upon moving his reader, his colours are so strong, and his figures so bold, that you are soon wrought up to the same pitch of indignation with him. Such as the following passage.

*Cum tener uxorem ducat spado, Mævia Tuscum*
*Figat aprum, & nuda teneat venabula mamma;*
*Patricios omnes opibus cum provocet unus,*
*Quo tondente gravis juveni mihi barba cadebat:*
*Cum pars Niliacæ plebis, cum verna Canopi*
*Crispinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,*
*Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,*
*Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ;*
*Difficile est Satiram non scribere: nam quis iniquæ*
*Tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se?*
Sat. 1. Ver. 22.

When sapless Eunuchs mount the marriage bed,
When mannish *Mævia*, that two-handed whore,
Astride on horse-back hunts the *Tuscan* boar,
When all our lords are by his wealth outvy'd,
Whose rasor on my callow beard was try'd;
When I behold the spawn of conquer'd *Nile*
*Crispinus*, both in birth and manners vile,

Pacing

Pacing in pomp with cloak of *Tyrian* die
Chang'd oft a day for needless luxury,
And finding oft occasion to be fan'd,
Ambitious to produce his Lady-hand:
Charg'd with light summer rings his fingers sweat,
Unable to support a Gem of weight.
Such fulsome objects meeting ev'ry where.
To view so lewd a town, and to refrain,
What hoops of Iron could my spleen contain!

*Dryden.*

THO' I am contending all this while for JUVENAL's superiority in Satire among the *Romans*, yet I confess it seems easier for a man to give a loose to his just indignation, and stir up the passions by the bitterest strokes of Satire, than with *Horace* genteely to reprove and artfully blame the fault, without so much as alarming the offender; as it is easier to cut off than restore a corrupted limb. At the same time it seems to me, that the first way is most natural, and with the profligate and vicious most effectual, as the latter is more artful, and fittest to be practised in a civil society. In short, had *Horace* been a worse courtier, he would have been more severe, and JUVENAL might have been more moderate had he lived in better times. Men were not very virtuous in the reign of *Augustas*, nor was the sanctity of his or *Mecænas*'s manners so very remarkable: They had their vices and failings like other men, but what they acted in private they discountenanced in public, thereby avoiding that scandal, which was the reproach of *Nero*'s and *Domitians*'s government. Accordingly *Horace*'s Satires are fitter to form the discreet and well bred man than the good and virtuous. But JUVENAL's writings at least recommend the noblest virtues, and pursue vice through all its shapes and disguises. He betrays no partial indulgence to himself or his friends, but keeping strictly to the business of Satire, censures the whole compass of human actions that deviate from the rules of honour and virtue.

Quicquid

*Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,*
*Gaudia, discursus, nostri ferrago libelli.* Sat. 186.

What human kind desires, and what they shun,
Rage, passions, pleasures, impotence of will,
Shall this satirical collection fill. *Dryden.*

As what has been already quoted is sufficient to show his talent for Satire, we may proceed to give some instances of that sublime moral and greatness of sentiments, that adorn his writings. *Persius* is his rival in this, but wants his graceful manner of recommending virtue. His tenth Satire is inimitable for the excellency of its morality and sublime sentiments. In the beginning of it, having displayed the great vanity of our desires, in answer to such as might enquire of him what wishes men might innocently make, he thus expresses himself, in the conclusion of the Satire, like an Oracle. How magnificently as well as rationally does he speak of the Divine Goodness!

——————*Si consilium vis,*
*Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid*
*Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris.*
*Nam pro jucundis aptissima quæque dabunt Dii.*
*Carior est illis homo, quam sibi: nos animorum*
*Impulsu, & cæca magnaque cupidine ducti*
*Conjugium petimus, partumque uxoris; at illis*
*Notum, qui pueri, qualisque futura sit uxor.*
*Ut tamen & poscas aliquid, voveasque sacellis*
*Exta, & candiduli divina tomacula Porci:*
*Orandum est, ut si mens sana in corpore sano:*
*Fortem posce animum, & mortis terrore carentem;*
*Qui spatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat*
*Naturæ, qui ferre queat quoscunque labores;*
*Nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil, & potiores*
*Hærculis ærumnas credat sævosque labores,*
*Et Venere, & cœnis, & plumis Sardinapali.*
*Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare: semita certe*
*Tranquillæ per virtutem patet unica vitæ.*
*Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia, sed te*

*Nos*

*Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, cœloque locamus.*
Sat. 10. Ver. 346.

Receive my counsel, and securely move;
Intrust thy fortune to the pow'rs above;
Leave them to manage for thee, and to grant
What their unerring wisdom sees thee want:
In goodness as in greatness they excell;
Ah! that we lov'd our selves but half so well!
We blindly, by our headstrong passions led,
Are hot for action, and desire to wed;
Then wish for heirs; but to the Gods alone
Our future offspring and our wives are known.
Yet not to rob the Priests of pious gain,
That altars be not wholly built in vain;
Forgive the Gods the rest, and stand confin'd
To health of body and content of mind:
A soul, that can securely death defy,
And count it nature's privilege to die;
Serene and manly, harden'd to sustain
The load of life, and exercis'd in pain:
Guiltless of hate, and proof against desire;
That all thing weighs, and nothing can admire:
That dares prefer the toils of *Hercules*
To dalliance, banquets, and ignoble ease.
The path to peace is virtue: what I show,
Thy self may freely on thy self bestow. DRYDEN.

IN the preceding part of this Satire he had shewn the uncertainty of human greatness, and the cruel inconstancy of the public hatred or favour in the fall of *Sejanus*, that overgrown favourite of *Tiberius*.

*Jam stridunt ignes, jam follibus atque caminis*
*Ardet adoratum populo caput, & crepat ingens*
*Sejanus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda*
*Fiunt urceoli, pelves, sartago, Patellæ.*
*Pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum*
*Cretatumque bovem: Sejanus ducitur unco*
*Spectandus; gaudent omnes: quæ labra! quis illi*
*Vultus erat? nunquam (si quid mihi credis) amavi*
*Hunc hominem: sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisquam*
*Delator?*

*Delator? quibus indiciis? quo teste probavit?*
*Nil horum: verbosa & grandis epistola venit*
*A Capreis: bene habet, nil plus interrogo: sed quid*
*Turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, & odit*
*Damnatos*—— Sat. 10. Ver. 51.

*Sejanus* almost first of *Roman* Names,
The great *Sejanus* crackles in the flames.
Form'd in the forge, the pliant brass is laid
On anvils, and of head and limbs are made,
Pans, cans, and piss-pots, a whole kitchen trade.
Adorn your doors with lawrels, and a bull
Milk-white and large lead to the Capitol;
*Sejanus* with a rope is drag'd along,
The sport and laughter of the giddy throng.
Good Lord! they cry, what *Æthiops* lips he has!
How foul a snout, and what a hanging face!
By Heav'n, I never could endure his sight:
But say, how came his monstrous crimes to light?
What is the charge? and who the evidence,
The saviour of the Nation and the Prince?
Nothing of this: but our old *Cæsar* sent
A noisy letter to his parliament.
Nay, Sirs, if *Cæsar* wrote, I ask no more,
He's guilty, and the question's out of door.
How goes the mob, for that's a mighty thing?
When the King's trump, the mob are for the King;
They follow fortune; and the common cry
Is still against the rogue condemn'd to die.
*Dryden.*

THE Poet proceeding to shew the insatiableness of human desires, instances in the vain ambition of *Hannibal* and *Alexander*.

*Expende Hannibalem: quot libras in duce summo*
*Invenies? hic est, quem non capit Africa Mauro*
*Perfusa oceano, Niloque admota tepenti.*
*Rursus ad Æthiopas populos, altosque Elephantos,*
*Additur imperiis Hispania: Pyrenæum*
*Transilit; opposuit natura Alpemque, nivemque,*
*Diduxit*

*Diduxit scopulos, & montem rupit aceto.*
*Jam tenet Italiam; tamen ultra tendere pergit;*
*Actum, inquit, nihil est, nisi Pœno milite portas*
*Frangimus, & media vexillum pono Suburra.*
*O qualis facies, & quali digna tabella,*
*Cum Getula ducem portaret bellua luscum!*
*Exitus ergo quis est? O Gloria! vincitur idem*
*Nempe & in exilium præceps fugit, atque ibi magnus*
*Mirandusque cliens sedet ad Tentoria regis,*
*Donec Bythino libeat vigilare Tyranno.*
*Finem animæ, quæ res humanas miscuit olim,*
*Non gladii, non saxa dabunt, non tela; sed ille*
*Cannarum vindex, & tanti sanguinis auctor*
*Annulus: I demens, & sævas curre per Alpes*
*Ut pueris placeas & declamatio fias.*
*Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis.*
*Æstuat infelix angusto limite mundi,*
*Ut Gyaræ clausus scopulis, parvoque Seripho.*
*Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem*
*Sarcophago contentus erit. Mors sola fatetur*
*Quantula sint hominum corpuscula*———

Sat. 10. Ver. 147.

Great *Hannibal* within the balance lay,
And tell how many pounds his ashes weigh;
Whom *Afric* was not able to contain,
Whose length runs level to th' *Atlantic* main,
And wearies fruitful *Nilus* to convey
The sun-beat waters by so long a way;
Which *Æthiopia*'s double clime divides,
And elephants in other mountains hides.
*Spain* first he won, the *Pyreneans* past,
And steepy *Alps*, the mounds that nature cast;
And with corroding juices, as he went,
A passage thro' the living rocks he rent.
Then like a torrent rolling from on high
He pours his headlong rage on *Italy*,
In three victorious battles over-run;
Yet still uneasy, cries, There's nothing done,
'Till level with the ground their gates are laid,
And *Punic* flags on *Roman* tow'rs display'd.

Ask

Ask what a face belong'd to his high fame,
His picture scarcely would deserve a frame:
A sign-post dawber would disdain to paint
The one-ey'd Heroe on his Elephant.
Now what's his end, O charming glory, say,
What rare first act to crown his huffing play?
In one deciding battle overcome,
He flies, is banish'd from his native home:
Begs refuge in a foreign court, and there
Attends his mean petition to prefer,
Repuls'd by surly grooms, who wait before
The sleeping tyrant's interdicted door.
What wondrous sort of death has heav'n design'd
Distinguish'd from the rest of human-kind
For so untam'd, so turbulent a mind!
Nor swords at hand, nor hissing darts afar;
But poison drawn thro' a ring's hollow plate
Must finish him; a sucking infant's fate.
Go, climb the *Alps*, ambitious fool,
To please the boys, and be a theme at school.
One world suffic'd not *Alexander*'s mind,
Coop'd up he seem'd in earth and seas confin'd;
And struggling, stretch'd his restless limbs about
The narrow Globe, to find a passage out.
Yet enter'd in the Brick-built town, he try'd
The tomb, and found the streight dimensions wide.
Death only this mysterious truth unfolds,
The mighty soul how small a body holds. *Dryden.*

Were I resolved to take notice of all the fine passages to be found in Juvenal, I must transcribe the greater part of his Satires. I will conclude all with that fine observation in the 13th Satire on the danger of vicious courses, because of the very great difficulty of leaving off any ill habits once contracted.

*Mobilis & varia est ferme natura malorum,*
*Cum scelus admittunt superest constantia, quid fas,*
*Atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire, peractis*
*Criminibus; tamen ad mores natura recurrit*
*Damnatos, fixa, & mutari nescia; nam quis*

*Peccandi*

*Peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit*
*Ejectum semel attrita de fronte pudorem.*

Sat. 13. Ver. 236.

He that once sins, like him that slides on ice,
Goes swiftly down the slippery ways of vice;
Tho' conscience checks, yet those rubs once gone o'er
He slides on smoothly and looks back no more.
What sinners finish, where they just begin!
And with one crime content their lust to sin!
Nature, that rude, and in her first essay
Stood boggling at the roughness of the way,
Us'd to the road, unknowing to return,
Goes boldly on, and loves the path when worn.

*Dryden.*

# THE LIFE OF AUSONIUS.

DECIMUS MAGNUS AUSONIUS PÆONIUS was a native of *Bourdeaux* in *France*. His Father *Julius Auſonius* was a man no leſs celebrated for his ſkill in Phyſic than for his eloquence in the *Greek* language, to which he had ſo cloſely applied himſelf, that he had almoſt neglected the *Latin*. He lived thirty ſix years with his wife *Æmilia Æonia*, by whom he had two ſons and a daughter. Our author was the ſecond ſon. His elder brother got conſiderable preferment, having at different times been Governour of *Gaul*, *Africa*, and *Italy*. And even his father, whoſe great moderation rather inclined him to a retired life, was ſome years before his death made Governour of *Illyricum*. He lived to eighty eight years of age, ſtill healthy and vigorous to ſuch a degree, as to be able to diſcharge all the duties of publick life. This *Julius Auſonius*, together with *Cæcilius Argicius Arboreus* our Athor's wife's father, had been forced to fly their country, being Chriſtians, upon a cruel perſecution and proſcription under the tyrant *Tetricus*.

*Arboreus* is ſaid to have been a man of profound learning, and particularly well verſed in Aſtrology, which had engaged him to caſt his Grandſon's nativity, but never diſcovered it to his family. Some years

years after his death, his daughter accidentally found it among his papers; in which he expressed himself as having been much comforted for the loss of his only son, who died at thirty years of age, by the glorious prospect which the happy conjunction of young AUSONIUS's Planets gave him, of his future advancement and dignity.

THESE and many other particulars relating to some of his family are to be met with in AUSONIUS's book of *Parentalia*, a Poem, so called because he therein has gratefully commemorated the virtues and characters of his Relations; and it is in one of these Poems, in honour of his Grandfather *Arboreus*, that the Poet mentions his having cast his Nativity.

*Tu cœli numeros & conscia sidera fati*
*Callebas, studium dissimulanter agens.*
*Non ignota tibi nostræ quoque formula Vitæ,*
*Signatis quam tu condideras tabulis.*
*Prodita non unquam; sed matris cura retexit*
*Sedula, quam timidi cura tegebat avi.*
*Dicebas sed te solatia longa fovere,*
*Quod mea præcipuus fata maneret honos:*
*Et modo consilijs animarum mixte piorum*
*Fata tui certe nota nepotis habes.*
*Sentis quod quæstor, quod te Præfectus, & idem*
*Consul, honorifico munere commemoro.*

How Stars in various aspects when combin'd
Explain the destiny of human kind,
Was thine to know, and knowing, to conceal
That Science, others would with pride reveal.
My Horoscope became thy care, which show'd
What Fates hereafter for thy Grandson flow'd.
A Mother's fondness found, and durst unfold
That secret scheme, for thee ev'n now untold.
The tablets, when unseal'd, betray'd thy mind,
Thy joy, for what my happy fates design'd;
O thou, who, 'midst the blessed choir above,
Thy art confirm'd, may'st now secure approve;
Receive these honours which thy Grandson pays,
Who Quæstor, Præfect, Consul, sings thy praise.

We have no fufficient authority exactly to fix the time of Ausonius's birth, but without much fear of error we may place it about the year of Chrift 320. At thirty years of age he was called to teach Grammar in the public fchools at *Bourdeaux*, he behaved fo much to the general fatisfaction in this employ, that a few years after he was elected Profeffor of Rhetoric there; and after fome years fpent in promoting thefe ftudies, during which he had acquired an univerfal reputation, he was fent for by the Emperor *Valentinian* the Elder to inftruct his Son *Gratian*, whom he affociated with him in the Empire in the year 369. Ausonius wanted neither merit nor addrefs to ingratiate himfelf with the Emperor and his royal pupils; for he foon afterwards had the care of *Gratian*'s brother *Valentinian* II. that he not only obtained the higheft dignities for himfelf, but had credit enough to prefer all his Relations to the moft honourable pofts in the Empire. *Valentinian* made him *Quæftor*, and *Gratian* had not been long affociated, before he made him Præfect, firft of *Italy*, and then of *Gaul* in the year 376, and in 381, he was created Conful. Ausonius lived to a happy old age. Some years before his death he had retired to *Bourdeaux* his native City, probably not till after his Patron the Emperor *Gratian* was murdered by the tyrant *Maximus*, which happened in the year 385.

*Juvenal* in one of his Satires thought he had advanced a very improbable inftance of the moft extravagant power of Fortune, when he faid,

*Si Fortuna volet, fies de Rhetore Conful.*

Sat. 7. Ver. 197.

I leave it to the reader to judge, whether it would have provoked his laughter or indignation moft to fee his prediction verified in the perfon of Ausonius, who from an obfcure Profeffor of Rhetoric, was raifed to the Confulfhip.

Before we enter upon the character of our Author as a Poet, it may be proper to obviate what *Voffius* and fome other Critics have advanced, to prove that

*Ausonius* was a Heathen. He pretends to shew this from the Epistles of *Paulinus* to him: But I think the following lines, wherein that holy man justifies his retirement to his friend AUSONIUS, is a good argument of the contrary.

*Non reor hoc sancto sic displicuisse parenti,*
*Mentis ut errorem credat sic vivere Christo.*

Where *Paulinus*'s words mean that he cannot think his holy friend (whom as having been his instructor he calls *Parens* Father) could think an error of understanding to live so to Christ, that is, condemn his retirement from the world, which he did, the better to discharge, as he thought, the great duties of Christianity. *Paulinus* urges this motive of his retirement, as what he thinks will justify him to AUSONIUS, who condemned his quitting a public life. But AUSONIUS still persisted in his opinion, which surely he might do without derogating to his respect for Christianity, which being then supported and encouraged by Christian Princes, could not furnish *Paulinus* with those reasons for his retreat, which had induced the primitive Christians to embrace the anchoret and monastic life, namely to shelter themselves from persecution and avoid the fiery trial. But the following lines of the same *Paulinus* positively assert, that such was the tenderness of their mutual affection, speaking of himself and of *Ausonius*, that they were as unanimous in all other things as they were in their zeal for Christianity.

*Inque tuo tantus nobis consensus amore est*
*Quantus & in Christo connexa mente colendo.*

I might use other arguments to prove his being a Christian, as from his education under two Aunts remarkable for their Christian Piety, and from his educating *Gratian* a Christian Prince of great piety.

IN his old age and at the request of the Emperor *Theodosius* the Great, AUSONIUS published a compleat collection of his Poems. That Prince's letter to him on this occasion is yet extant, which I am willing to

produce, as an instance of the great credit in which AUSONIUS lived, and of the politeness of that Emperor's taste, though he had been bred a soldier from his infancy. The language indeed is not very elegant, which could not be expected in a *Spanish* Officer in the fourth century. But we shall see by his letter, that by a long and faithful service he had learned to govern well and command with a good grace.

THEODOSIUS AUGUSTUS, AUSONIO Parenti, *Salutem.*

*AMOR meus qui in te est, & admiratio ingenii atque eruditionis tuæ, quæ multo maxima sunt, fecit, parens jucundissime, ut morem aliis principibus solitum sequestrarem; familiaremque sermonem autographum ad te transmitterem, postulans, pro jure, non quidem regio, sed illius privatæ inter nos charitatis, ne fraudari me scriptorum tuorum lectione patiaris, quæ olim mihi cognita, & jam per tempus oblita, rursum desidero; non solum ut quæ sunt nota recolantur, sed ut ea, quæ fama celebri adjecta memorantur, accipiam. Quæ tu de promptuario Scriniorum, qui me amas, libens impertiare, secutus exempla auctorum optimorum, quibus par esse meruisti, qui* Octaviano Augusto *rerum potienti, certatim opera sua tradebant, nullo fine in ejus honorem multa condentes. Qui, illos haud sciam, an æqualiter, ac ego te, admiratus sit, certe non amplius diligebat.* *Vale* Parens.

IT was common among the Ancients to compliment the person who had educated them with the title of *Father*, and the Master took the same pleasure in calling his Pupil *Son:* But I cannot see why *Theodosius* called *Ausonius* Father, unless in respect to his Collegue the Emperor *Gratian*; for *Theodosius* was General under *Valentinian* before *Ausonius* was made Præceptor to *Gratian.*

" *The Emperor* Theodosius, *to* Ausonius *his Father, greeting.*

" THE love I bear you, added to the great opi-
" nion I have of your fine genius and learn-

 ing,

"ing, have induced me, dear father, to lay afide the "ftate of a Sovereign, and to fend you a familiar let-"ter of my own hand writing, to defire you as a "pledge of our private friendfhip, not out of any "regard to my dignity, to deprive me no longer of "the pleafure of reading your works. I have for-"merly feen fome of them, and am now defirous "to renew my knowledge of them; but you muft "likewife fend me thofe other pieces of yours, which, "as being of a later date, are only known to me by "their reputation in the world. I flatter my felf "with your ready compliance with this requeft, in "imitation of thofe excellent writers, to whom "you are defervedly compared, who fought all occa-"fions of prefenting their compofitions to *Auguftus* "*Octavianus*, and were continually publifhing fome-"thing new in his praife. I cannot fay whether he "valued them as much as I do you; I am fure he "could not have more affection for them, than I "have for you. Farewell.

It is eafy to difcover the true occafion of this letter to Ausonius; It was not meerly to have his works, which having been publifhed already, he might have had elfewhere; nor was it a bare compliment: It was to engage Ausonius, who perhaps was efteemed the beft Poet of the age, to write fomething that would convey his name with honour to pofterity; and that Prince ufed the moft powerful argument to prevail with him, by comparing him with the excellent Poets of the *Auguftan* age, who ftrove to furpafs each other in celebrating the praifes of *Auguftus*. Whether *Theodofius* fucceeded is uncertain, fince we find nothing among Ausonius's works immediately addreffed to him, but the Poem prefixed by way of Dedication to the reft of the Poems, which he fent as that Prince had defired; in which there might feem an obfcure promife of the Poet to gratify fome time or other the Emperor's defire.

*Agricolam fi flava Ceres dare femina terræ,*
*Gradivus jubeat fi capere arma ducem.*

*Solvere de portu classem Neptunus inermem;*
*Fidere tam fas est, quam dubitare nefas.*
*Insanum quamvis hyemet mare, erudaque tellus*
*Seminibus, bello nec sit aperta manus.*
*Nil dubites autore bono: mortalia quærunt*
*Consilium; certus jussa capesse Dei.*
*Scribere me Augustus jubet, & mea carmina poscit,*
*Pene rogans, blando vis latet imperio.*
*Non habeo id genii: Cæsar sed jussit, habebo:*
*Cur me posse negem, posse quod ille putat?*
*Invalidas vires ipse excitat, & juvat, idem*
*Qui jubet: obsequium sufficit esse meum.*
*Non tutum renuisse Deo: laudata pudoris*
*Sæpe mora est quoties contra parem dubitas.*
*Quin etiam non jussa parant erumpere dudum*
*Carmina: quis nolit Cæsaris esse liber?*
*Ne ferat indignum Vatem, centumque lituras*
*Mutandus semper deteriore nota.*
*Tu modo te jussisse, pater Romane, memento;*
*Inque tuis culpis da tibi tu veniam.*

Though AUSONIUS was very old when he sent this with his other Poems, he shews he had not lost his fire, which if it never blazed out with great brightness, had this advantage, that it maintained its vigour to the last; which was the reason I chose to quote it at length. Here follows the translation.

Tho' bad the season, yet at *Ceres'* will
Th' obedient hind prepares his lands to till.
If *Neptune* bid the Master spread his sails,
He soon obeys, nor dreads the wintry gales.
At *Mars'* command the Chief leads on to fight,
Nor doubts success; for Gods must order right.
So when great *Cæsar* asks the Muse to sing,
Such condescension must obedience bring.
In vain she pleads her want of tuneful art,
The Prince requesting shall enough impart:
His good opinion may the Muse suffice,
What he has once approv'd who dare despise?
When equals ask, 'tis modest to deny;
But duty bids us with the Gods comply.

My

My works, which had before essay'd to fly
The Poet's alt'ring hand and Critic eye,
Now grown ambitious liberty proclaim
Aloud, and in excuse plead *Cæsar*'s name.
Then mighty Prince with just indulgence view
Such faults as partly owe their birth to you.

Though AUSONIUS's works do not appear so excellent to us, it is certain *Theodosius* was not the only one who admired his Poetry, and compared him to the writers of the *Augustan* Age. Not to mention his favourite scholar *Paulinus*, some of whose letters, very much in his praise are extant among his works, *Symmachus*, a person of the highest quality and learning, as well as integrity and worth, has said the same of AUSONIUS, on occasion of his excellent Poem on the *Moselle*, a famous River that runs through part of *France* and *Flanders*. His letter to AUSONIUS about this Poem is commonly placed before it as a kind of Preface, and is as follows.

SYMMACHUS, AUSONIO suo, *Salutem.*

*Petis a me literas longiores: est hoc in nostri amoris indicium: sed ego qui sum pauperrimi mei ingenij conscius, Laconicæ malo studere brevitati, quam multijugis paginis infantiæ meæ maciem publicare. Nec mirum si eloquij nostri vena tenuata est, quam dudum neque ullius poematis tui, neque pedestrium voluminum lectione juvisti. Unde igitur sermonis mei largam poscis usuram cui nihil literati fœnoris credidisti? Volitat Mosella tuus per manus sinusque multorum divinis a te versibus consecratus. Sed tantum nostra ora prælabitur. Cur memet istius libelli quæso exortem esse voluisti? aut* Ἀμουσότερος *tibi videbar, qui judicare non possem, aut certe malignus, qui laudare nescirem. Itaque vel ingenio meo plurimum, vel moribus derogasti: Et tamen contra interdictum tuum vix ad illius operis arcana perveni. Velim tacere quid sentiam: Velim justo de te Silentio vindicari; sed admiratio scriptorum sensum frangit injuriæ. Novi ego istum fluvium, cum æter-*

 *norum*

*norum principum jampridem signa comitarer, parem multis, imparem maximis. Hunc tu mihi improviso clarorum versuum dignitate Ægyptio Nilo majorem, frigidiorem Scythico Tanai, clarioremque hoc nostro populari Tiberi reddidisti. Nequaquam tibi crederem de Mosellæ ortu ac meatu magna narranti, ni scirem quod nec in poemate mentiaris. Unde illa amnicorum piscium examina reperisti? quam nominibus varia tam coloribus, ut magnitudine distantia, sic sapore, quæ tu pigmentis istius carminis supra naturæ dona fucasti. Atqui in tuis mensis sæpe versatus, cum pleraque alia quæ tunc in pretio erant, esui objecta mirarer, nunquam hoc genus piscium deprehendi. Quando tibi hi pisces in libro nati sunt: Qui in ferculis non fuerint. Jocari me putas, atque agere nugas. Ita dominus probabilem me præstet, ut ego tuum carmen libris Maronis adjungo: Sed jam mei oblitus doloris, inhæreo laudibus tuis: Ne hoc quoque ad gloriam tuam trahas, quod te miramur offensi? Spargas licet volumina tua, & me semper excipias: fruimur tamen tuo opere, sed aliorum benignitate. Vale.*

## SYMMACHUS to AUSONIUS.

"YOU desire me to write you a long Letter: This "is a proof of your affection to me. But I, "who am sensible of my own weakness, chuse the "*Laconic* brevity, rather than expose the poverty of "my stile in many pages. And it is no wonder if the "vein of my eloquence is impoverished, which has "been kept so long without the supply either of your "verse or prose. With what conscience then can "you expect much from me, when you have sent me "nothing? Your Poem on the *Moselle*, which you "have immortalized in your excellent verses, is read "and admired by many persons, but I was left out "of the number. And why was I to be excluded? "either you questioned my ability to discern its beau- "ties, or mistrusted my inclination to commend it: "either you wrong my understanding or character "very much. Yet notwithstanding your opposition,

"I have at laſt had your Poem in my hands. I could "have a mind to hide my opinion of it, and by a juſt "ſilence be in ſome ſort revenged of you: But my "admiration of it has made me forget your injurious "behaviour. I knew the *Moſelle*, when I ſerved in "the wars under our Emperors, that it was equal to "many rivers, but much inferior to the greater of "them. But you, by the charm of your excellent "Poetry, have at once made it bigger than the *Nile*, "cooler than the *Scythian Tanais*, and more renown-"ed than our own *Tiber*. However, I ſhall hardly "credit the ſtrange things you ſay of its ſpring and "courſe, but that I know you ſcorn to advance an "untruth even in Poetry. But where could you find "thoſe ſwarms of river fiſh, of ſuch various colours, "ſo different in ſize and taſte, which almoſt exceed "nature in your beautiful deſcription of them? As "often as I dined at your table, and admired the rari-"ties that covered it, I never met with any of theſe "fiſh. How come you to give them place in your "book, which could not obtain it at your table? But "now you will imagine I begin to rally and trifle; but "I ſolemnly proteſt that I put this Poem of yours in the "ſame rank with the works of *Virgil*. Before I was "aware, I have launched out into your praiſe; but "do not let this add to your vanity that I admire you, "though you have diſobliged me. You may diſtribute "your books as often as you pleaſe, and except me; "I ſhall nevertheleſs enjoy your works, though I am "beholden to others for the favour. Farewell."

As this Poem is the moſt conſiderable of any that Ausonius wrote, I thought this character which *Symmachus* has given of it, might not be diſagreeable to the curious reader, who cannot ſuppoſe that this great man's friendſhip for Ausonius had ſo blinded his judgment as to make him launch out ſo far in praiſe of a bad Poem.

The reſt of Ausonius's works do not come up to this; many of them were compoſed occaſionally for the inſtruction of youth. Some were almoſt extempore

trials of wit; of this ſort was the *Cento Nuptialis* a Poem, which perhaps had been leſs taken notice of, if on another ſubject, or if the Parody had been made from the works of a more licentious Poet than *Virgil.* As I am far from approving the Poet's conduct in this reſpect, ſo I think it is but common juſtice to let him ſpeak for himſelf, and quote part of his letter which he ſent with the *Cento* to his religious friend and favourite ſcholar *Paulinus.*

AUSONIUS PAULINO, S.

*PErlege hoc etiam, ſi operæ eſt, frivolum, & nullius pretij opuſculum, quod nec labor excudit, nec cura limavit, ſine ingenij acumine, & moræ maturitate. Centonem vocant, qui primi hac concinnatione luſerunt. Solæ memoriæ negotium ſparſa colligere, & integrare lacerata, quod ridere magis quam laudare poſſis. Pigei Virgiliani carminis dignitatem tam joculari dehoneſtaſſe materia. Sed quid facerem? juſſum erat; quodque eſt potentiſſimum imperandi genus, rogabat, qui jubere poterat: ſcilicet Imperator Valentinianus, vir meo judicio eruditus, qui nuptias quondam ejuſmodi ludo deſcripſerat, aptis equidem verſibus & compoſitione feſtiva. Experiri deinde volens quantum noſtra contentione præcelleret, ſimile nos de eodem concinnare præcepit. Quam ſcrupuloſum hoc mihi fuerit, intellige. Neque anteferri volebam neque poſthaberi; cum aliorum quoque judicio detegenda eſſet adulatio inepta ſi cederem, inſolentia, ſi, ut æmulus eminerem. Suſcepi igitur ſimilis recuſanti, feliciterque & obnoxius gratiam tenui: nec victor offendi. Hoc die uno, & addita lucubratione properatum. Tanta mihi candoris tui & amoris fiducia eſt, ut ſeveritati tuæ nec ridenda ſubtraherem,* &c.

AUSONIUS to PAULINUS.

"I Send you a little trifling compoſition of mine, "which was neither the product of labour, nor "corrected with care, nor the offspring of genius, "nor could be ripened by time to perfection. They "who firſt amuſed themſelves this way, called it a

"*Cento.*

" *Cento.* The chief burden lies on the memory to " collect what had been dispersed, and to put the se- " veral scraps together, and when that is done, it de- " serves to be laughed at, rather than commended. I " was sorry too that I dishonoured the dignity of *Vir-* " *gil*'s Poetry by so ludicrous a subject. But how " could I avoid it? I was ordered to do it; and what " laid the greater obligation upon me, he who had a " right to command, requested it of me as a favour. " In a word, it was the Emperor *Valentinian* himself, " a Prince of excellent learning in my opinion; who, " having formerly diverted himself by writing a Nup- " tial Poem of this sort, that wanted neither art nor " proper numbers to recommend it, had a mind to see " how I should succeed in the like attempt. How " nice a point this was, I leave you to judge. I did " not desire to obtain the preference, and at the same " time was unwilling to fall short of him; for had I " yielded the prize, the world would have discovered " the sordid adulation, as they would have condemned " my insolence, had I strove as a rival to outshine him. " I undertook it therefore with some shew of reluc- " tancy, and had the happiness to succeed without dis- " pleasing, and to conquer without offence. It was " hurried up in one day and night's time. But I have " some confidence in your candour and affection, that " I was unwilling to conceal even so ridiculous a trifle " from you, &c.

PERHAPS some of the most rigid Censors of AUSONIUS would have been unwilling to forfeit their Prince's favour, by an affectation of severity in a case when the Prince himself had first set the example he required them to follow.

As for the apology he makes for the obscene part of it afterwards, I think it is trifling, and the conclusion worst of all; for tho' we know the business of the wedding night, decency forbids us to describe it as he did; and if he found himself under a necessity of writing in this manner in obedience to *Valentinian*, nothing but his vanity could put him upon publishing it afterwards,

What he has elsewhere said in a jocular manner to his son *Gregorius* (when he sent him the poem on *Cupid's* being fastened to a cross by several female lovers, and which he has very happily executed) that we are apt to be fond even of our blemishes and scars, and not content to do amiss ourselves, would have others, approve our so doing; *Nævos nostros & cicatrices amamus, nec soli nostro vitio peccasse contenti, affectamus ut amentur:* This I think is really AUSONIUS's character in some measure, finding himself prefer'd from an inconsiderable Professor to the highest dignities in the Empire; his vanity made him still find a merit in trifles unbecoming his character.

THUS in his old age he continued to delight in the instructing of youth, for whom he would often compose little Poems suited to their capacity. The instruction of youth is certainly a commendable employment, but a *Roman* Consul, a Prefect of *Italy* and *Gaul*, one would imagine, might have found other business. I am ready to allow, that many of these compositions were for the use of his own grandchildren, or those of some of his friends of the first rank; and that they were the amusements of his leisure hours. Yet this will hardly excuse the carelessness with which he wrote them, who pretended to the glory of being a good Poet, or that self-liking which he betrays wherever he has occasion to mention himself in them.

BUT we may see by some other Poems, that his genius led him to trifle with his muse and to applaud himself for it afterwards. Such is that on the number Three and the letter that he sent with it to his friend *Symmachus* about it. "But (says the Poet) it was "composed over a glass of wine between dinner and "supper."[a] But what need then of an apology about it, or, in answer to some ill-natured Critic's objection, that he had left out several things concerning the number Three, to shew the contrary by a long enumeration of many other particulars relating to that mysterious number, which his mentioning there does not

prove

prove that he thought of them all, as he would infinuate he had, when he compofed the Poem.

I would not be underftood, by what I have faid, to undervalue AUSONIUS, who had a fine genius, a ready wit, and a great compafs of learning and eloquence; but having attained the higheft honours by his learning, he neglected to cultivate his genius. or to apply it to fome noble fubject. And as I think moft of his leffer compofitions are fo many abufes of a fine genius, and only fo much time and labour loft, it may be proper to caution fuch of my readers as may happen to be poetically given, from imitating fo bad an example. His fuccefs in fome of thefe trifles, carries his condemnation with it. Of this nature is his foolifh, though ingenious Poem, where each verfe begins and ends with a monofyllable. This was a fine prefent to his friend *Paulinus*, and is accompanied with a letter fetting forth the difficulties he had to encounter in this arduous tafk; and being in a quibbling humour, he cannot help fhewing it even in the letter, which he concludes faying, "In fhort it is what you will "rather pity than admire, or defire to imitate: for "if you fhould, you would find more torture of the "brain and injury to the eloquence of your ftile, than "fatisfaction from fuccefs in the attempt." *Ad fummam, non eft quod mereris, fed paucis literis additis, eft cujus miferearis, neque æmulari velis: Et fi quoque defcenderis, majorem moleftiam capias ingenii & facundiæ detrimento, quam oblectationem imitationis affectu.*

I cannot fay much in praife of his Epigrams, many of them are tranflations from the *Greek*, and have but little fpirit or elegance: Thofe of his own compofition have a better turn, but are fcarce worth imitation. His Poem on the Rofe has fome beauties in the Elegiac way, and had been put in the number of *Virgil's* Juvenile Poems, till proved to be AUSONIUS's by *Alexander* from the authority of an antient Manufcript of this Poet's work.

His love Poems on *Biffulis*, a fair *Suabian* captive, whom

whom he loved and afterwards set at liberty, are imperfect; and when he sent them entire to *Paulus*, a person of great Quality, he says, he never wrote them for public view; but could not refuse them to his pressing instances.

*Ut voluisti, Paule, cunctos Bissulæ versus habes,*
*Lusimus quos in Sueva gratiam Virgunculæ:*
*Otium magis foventes quam studentes gloriæ.*
*Tu molestus flagitator lege molesta carmina:*
*Tibi quod intristi exedendum est. Sic vetus verbum jubet,*
*Compedes, quas ipse fecit, ipsus ut gestus Faber.*

He wrote the Poem of the seven Wise Men, when he was Consul, and inscribed it to his friend *Drepanus* the Proconsul. He has also composed a collection of short Poems in praise of the principal Cities of the *Roman* Empire. He likewise abridged the lives of the twelve *Cæsars* from *Suetonius*, and of the other Emperors down to *Heliogabalus*; and wrote the Contents of *Homer*'s *Iliads* and *Odyssee*, partly in verse and partly prose.

Whilst he had the care of *Gratian*'s instruction, he translated some fables from the *Greek*, but they are lost.

There are several of his Epistles extant, both in verse and prose; those to *Paulinus* seem most laboured, and abound with the most tender expressions of friendship to that excellent man, whose answers are as ingenious as they are devout.

His *Idyllia* are miscellaneous Poems; two of them are on religious subjects, and savour of the true spirit of Christianity. There is nothing worth dwelling upon in particular of any of these Poems. He also wrote a Poem of the *Roman Fasti* or *Annals*, from the building of *Rome* down to his own time, including the space of 1118 years: but this work, which might have been very useful, is lost through the injuries of time. It was addressed to *Proculus*, who according to Ausonius was Consul four years after him; but I

do

do not find his name in the list of Consuls at that time: and what AUSONIUS reckons the year of *Rome* 1118, in *Helvicus* is 1131, answering to the year of *Christ* 381. But let the Poet's own account, as preserved to us in a fragment by way of Preface to these *Fasti*, conclude our account of his life.

*Urbis ab æternæ deductam rege Quirino*
*Annorum seriem cum, Procule, accipies,*
*Mille annos centumque & bis fluxisse novenos*
*Consulis Ausonij nomen adusque leges.*
*Fors erit ut lustrum cum se cumulaverit istis,*
*Confectam Proculus signet Olympiadem.*

THE

# THE LIFE OF CLAUDIAN.

CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS was born at *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, as we may ſuppoſe about the year of CHRIST 365, in the beginning of the reign of *Valentinian* I. I can find nothing particular relating to his birth, parentage, or education. But as *Alexandria* was then in its higheſt glory for learning, and contended even with *Athens* for the education of youth, we find from CLAUDIAN's own account, that he had made ſuch progreſs in *Greek* learning, as to have indulged his poetic vein in that language, before he attempted any thing in the *Latin* Tongue. The ſame paſſage informs us when he came firſt to *Rome*, which was in the year of CHRIST 395. when *Olybrius* and *Probinus* were Conſuls. We have a panegyrical Poem of his extant on that occaſion, which perhaps was the firſt *Latin* Poem that he publiſhed; and he ſeems to inſinuate as much in an Epiſtle addreſſed to *Probinus*, one of the Conſuls, who probably was his firſt Patron. But hear him give this account himſelf.

*Romanos bibimus primum te Conſule fontes,*
*Et Latiæ ceſſit Graia Thalia Togæ:*
*Incipienſque tuis a faſcibus omina cepi,*
*Fataque debebo poſteriora tibi.*

Of

Of *Greece* and her *Parnaſſus* weary grown,
I ſought the beauties of the *Roman* Gown;
Whoſe ſacred ſprings I firſt preſum'd to taſte,
The Conſul's *faſces* when *Probinus* grac'd:
His honours prov'd auſpicious to my Muſe,
His praiſe ſhe for her lateſt theme will chuſe.

FROM this paſſage it appears that *Claudian* could not be leſs than thirty when he firſt came to *Rome*, or at leaſt when he wrote his firſt Latin Poem; and I have fixt the date of his birth accordingly. After having compleated his ſtudies, he muſt have ſpent ſome time in acquainting himſelf with the excellencies of the *Latin*, as he had before of the *Greek*.

*Petrarch* and *Politian* claimed him as a *Florentine*, or at leaſt that his father was a native of *Florence*: but *Giraldus* and the beſt Critics follow the authority of *Suidas*, and of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, and ſay, he was a native of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*. There are ſome little Poems on ſacred ſubjects, which through miſtake have been aſcribed by ſome Critics to CLAUDIAN; and ſo have made him be thought a Chriſtian. But St. *Auſtin*, who was partly cotemporary with him, expreſly ſays he was a Heathen; where he quotes ſome of his Verſes in praiſe of *Theodoſius*, *De Civit. Dei.* Lib. 1. Cap. 26. and *Paulus Oroſius* the Hiſtorian, who likewiſe flouriſhed about the ſame time, ſays the ſame, Lib. 7. Cap. 35. *Giraldus* therefore juſtly blames the ignorant credulity of *Barthius* and thoſe Critics in this matter, and attributes theſe ſacred Poems to *Claudius Mamercus* a Chriſtian Poet of *Vienne* in *Gaul*, and cotemporary with *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who commends him at large, *Lib.* 4. *Epiſt.* 3. But to return to CLAUDIAN.

NOT long after his coming to *Rome*, he inſinuated himſelf into *Stilico*'s favour, who being a perſon of great abilities both for peace and war, though a *Goth* by birth, was now become ſo conſiderable under *Honorius*, that he may be ſaid for many years to have governed the Weſtern Empire.

HE had ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct

conduct under the Emperor *Theodosius*, that he gave him the command of his forces, and as a farther reward of his services, bestowed his favourite Niece and adopted daughter the Princess *Serena* upon him, and on his death-bed recommended the Empire and his Sons to his care and protection.

*Honorius* was so fond of him that he made a fresh alliance with him, by marrying *Maria, Stilico*'s daughter by *Serena*. Being thus doubly related to the Emperor, and having destroyed all his rivals in the Eastern, where his influence reached, as well as the Western Empire, he wanted but the title of Emperor: and this his ambition put him upon endeavours of obtaining, at least for his Son *Eucherius*; but the plot being timely discovered, they were both put to death.

CLAUDIAN was probably involved in his Patron's disgrace, and severely persecuted both in his family, in his person and fortunes by *Hadrian*, an *Ægyptian* by birth, who was Captain of the Guards to *Honorius*, and seems to have succeeded *Stilico*, whose plot he had discovered, in the administration. There is an expostulatory Epistle of the Poet's extant addressed to this *Hadrian*, which seems to be one of the last of his writing, so that we may conclude that he obtained no redress from the Minister, whom he had likewise personally affronted in the following Epigram.

*Mallius indulget somno noctesque diesque,*
*Insomnis Pharius sacra profana rapit.*
*Omnibus hoc, Italæ gentes, exposcite votis,*
*Mallius ut vigilet, dormiat ut Pharius.*

Whilst *Mallius* day and night in sleep is lost,
By restless *Hadrian*'s plunders th' Empire's tost:
This change, O *Romans*, of great *Jove* implore,
That *Mallius* may sleep less, and *Hadrian* more.

THE poor Poet thus heavily vents his sorrows, complaining of *Hadrian*'s cruelty and unforgiving temper, in his Epistle to that Minister.

*Audiat hoc commune solum, longeque carinis*
*Nota Pharos, flentemque attollens gurgite vultum,*
*Nostra gemat Nilus numerosis funera ripis.*

Which

Which paſſage, by the bye, proves the Poet to have been a native of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

Let *Pharos* thro' the world by trade renown'd,
Thy Rage, let *Ægypt* hear, our mother ground;
To mourn my ſorrows, from each oozy bed
Let weeping *Nilus* raiſe his drooping head.

It appears from another part of this Epiſtle, that Claudian had formerly been in *Hadrian*'s favour, which he had now ſuddenly changed into hatred; and he inſinuates as if the Miniſter had too eaſily lent an ear to falſe reports and malignant rumours: he begs pardon for his fault, which his grief for *Stilico*'s fall perhaps, or his vanity, or a heat of paſſion had betrayed him into, and beſeeches him not to continue his violent indignation and anger againſt him: His houſe was now made deſolate, and he driven to want and neceſſity, being robbed of all his friends, of ſome by death and tortures, of others by baniſhment. But all this and many more particulars of his complaint, leave us ſtill to gueſs the true cauſe of his diſgrace, nor can we tell how long he ſurvived it.

But ſetting aſide his abuſing *Hadrian*, he ſeems to have behaved as a true Court Poet: nor was the Prince ungrateful to his Panegyriſt; he obtained, as he mentions in his Epiſtle above-mentioned, ſeveral honours both civil and military, though they are not there particularly ſpecified. But *Arcadius* and *Honorius* in conjunction with the *Roman* Senate, granted him an honour that ſeems to exceed any that ever had been beſtowed on any Poet before; which *Gyraldus* ſays was diſcovered by a marble that was found in his time, and carefully examined by *Pomponius Lætus* and other able Antiquaries, who judged it to be the pedeſtal of Claudian's Statue in braſs, which the Emperors at the Senate's requeſt had ordered to be erected for him in *Trajan*'s *Forum*, with the following moſt honourable inſcription on the marble above mentioned.

CL.

CL. CLAUDIANO, *V. C.*

CL. CLAUDIANO, *V. C. Tribuno & Notario, inter cæteras ingentes artes, præglorioſiſſimo Poetarum, licet ad memoriam ſempiternam carmina ab eodem ſcripta ſufficiant, attamen teſtimonij gratia, ob judicij ſui fidem DD. NN. Arcadius & Honorius feliciſſimi & doctiſſimi Imperatores, Senatu petente, ſtatuam in foro divi Trajani erigi, collocarique juſſerunt.*

UNDER the Inſcription was put the following *Greek* Epigram.

Εἰν ἑνὶ Βιργιλίοιο νόον κ̀ μȣ̃σαν Ὁμήρȣ
Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμη κ̀ Βασιλεῖς ἔθεσαν.

"To CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS, Tribune "and Notary, and among other great qualifications, "the moſt excellent of Poets, though his own "works are ſufficient to make his name immortal, "yet as a teſtimony of their approbation, the moſt "learned and moſt happy Emperors *Arcadius* and "*Honorius*, at the requeſt of the Senate, have or-"dered this ſtatue to be erected and placed in the "*Forum* of *Trajan.*"

THE Epigram underneath was no leſs glorious to the Poet.

"*Rome* and the *Cæſars* here his Statue raiſe,
"Who *Virgil*'s genius join'd to *Homer*'s lays.

IN the Preface to his Poem on the *Getic* war, CLAUDIAN attributes this honour as owing to his Poems on the Conſulſhip of *Honorius.*

*Poſt reſides annos longo velut excita ſomno*
*Romanis fruitur noſtra Thalia choris.*
*Optatos renovant eadem mihi culmina cœtus,*
*Perſonat & noto Pythia vate domus.*
*Conſulis hic faſces cecini, Libyamque receptam,*
*Hic mihi proſtratis bella canenda Getis:*
*Sed prior effigiem tribuit ſucceſſus aënam,*
*Oraque Patricius noſtra dicavit honos.*
*Annuit hunc titulum princeps, poſcente Senatu.*

After

After ſome years repoſe the ſlothful Muſe,
The *Roman* towers, once more, awaken'd views.
Th' inſpiring powers to all my boſom throng,
The vanquiſh'd *Getæ* ſhall adorn my ſong.
Th' imperial *Conſul* firſt I ſtrove to ſing,
And *Libyan* rebels in ſubjection bring;
The former Theme a brazen ſtatue crown'd,
Patrician honours thus my numbers found:
The Senate's voice that title did requeſt
With which the *Cæſars* have their Poet grac'd.

I ſuppoſe that this abſence of the Poet from *Rome*, was when the Princeſs *Serena*, who had a great eſteem for Claudian, recommended and married him to a Lady of great quality and fortune in *Libya*, as he acknowledges very gratefully in an Epiſtle which he addreſſes to *Serena* from thence, a little before the wedding-day.

*Non ego, cum peterem, ſolenni more procorum,*
*Promiſi gregibus paſcua plena meis:*
*Nec quod mille mihi lateant ſub palmite colles,*
*Fluctuet & glauca pinguis oliva coma:*
*Nec quod noſtra Ceres numeroſa falce laboret,*
*Aurataque ferant culmina celſa trabes.*
*Suffecit mandaſſe deam; tua littera nobis,*
*Et pecus, & ſegetes, & domus ampla fuit.*
*Inflexit ſoceros, & majeſtate petendi*
*Texit pauperiem nominis umbra tui.*

No ſpreading olives bending with their fruit,
No vineyards on the Hills t'adorn my ſuit;
No flocks nor herds my plenteous paſtures feed,
Nor fields of full-ear'd corn had I to plead:
No golden roof, nor lordly ſeat I own,
Nor birth, nor title boaſt; your name alone
Theſe wants ſupplies; *Serena* beſt can find
The poor man's friends, and bid the rich be kind.
A Goddeſs recommends, and is obey'd;
Wealth, title, lands, your letter all convey'd.

These are all the circumſtances of Claudian's life

life that I have been able to gather from his Works, which we will next consider; and begin with the character he bears as a Poet among the Critics.

THEY are, as usual, divided in their opinions of him: some think his stile too florid, and are offended with the flowing ease and harmoniousness of his numbers. But this is what CLAUDIAN seems to have aimed at as a beauty, and in which he has succeeded beyond all the *Latin* Poets. But as true harmony of numbers does not barely consist in tunable and pleasing sounds, but requires a due mixture of gravity and elevation as well as smoothness and fluency to compleat it, and all of them justly adapted to the character of the subject to be described, whereby the numbers become in some sort significant as well as the expression; therefore that equability and constant fluency of CLAUDIAN's numbers has been justly objected against, as wanting both variety and strength in many places to support the dignity of the expression.

THERE are others, who admiring the charming ease and fluency of his numbers, with the spirit and vivacity of his style, wish he had been happier or rather more judicious in the choice of his subjects. It may be alledged in his defence, that the subjects he has chosen, though inferior to the true Epic Poems, were not only such as were likely to make his fortune at court, but were capable of the finest embellishments, and such as would admit of all those beauties of fiction and figures, which make the soul of Poetry. Besides, the rape of *Proserpine* had most of those circumstances to recommend it, which the Critics require in the fable of an Epic Poem; and it was on this Poem that CLAUDIAN proposed to build his fame: And accordingly, in his Preface to that Poem, which is addressed to his friend *Florentinus*, a person of great learning and quality, he insinuates, that this Poem was a work of much labour and difficulty, and which he had not ventured upon till he had first tried the strength of his genius by lesser Compositions.

*Inventa*

*Inventa ſecuit qui primus nave profundum,*
*Et rudibus remis ſollicitavit aquas.*
*Qui, dubiis auſus committere flatibus alnum,*
*Quas natura negat, præbuit arte vias.*
*Tranquillis primum trepidus ſe credidit undis,*
*Littora ſecura tramite ſumma legens.*
*Mox longos tentare ſinus, & linquere terras,*
*Et leni cœpit pandere vela Noto.*
*Aſt ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit,*
*Cordaque languentem dedidicêre metum;*
*Jam vagus exultat pelago, cœlumque ſecutus*
*Ægeas hyemes Ioniaſque domat.*

The man who firſt preſum'd to try the deep,
And with unſkilful oars the billows ſweep;
Who to the dubious winds unfurl'd the ſail,
And dar'd by Art o'er Nature's bounds prevail;
With caution firſt the ſea becalm'd eſſay'd,
And near the ſhore his bark ſecurely play'd:
Embolden'd now, he tempts the winding bay,
Forſakes the land, and gently ſails away
With a fair gale; at length more hardy grown,
Diſdains all fear, and rides the main unknown;
By ſtars directed, ploughs the ſwelling tide,
Victorious o'er the ſtormy ocean's pride.

In complaiſance to Claudian's good opinion of the Rape of *Proſerpine*, we will examine it firſt. Whether he finiſhed it, and ſo the injuries of time have robbed us of what is now wanting of it, or that the Poet left it imperfect, I do not pretend to determine; though I muſt confeſs, I think the laſt book of thoſe now extant, much more incorrect than the former. But leaving this nice and knotty point to the diſquiſition of the Critics, let us conſider the plan of this Poem. It does not ſeem very well laid for an Epic Poem, the Poet having begun too high, and thereby prolonged the duration of the action too much: The action of the Rape is finiſhed entirely in thoſe books we have, ſo that what followed, however conſequent of it, could not more properly be ſaid to belong to it, than

than the *Æneis* does to the *Ilias*. However, the subject, as being a most celebrated story in the Heathen Mythology, could not but be entertaining to the reader at that time; and as the Powers of Heaven, Earth, and Hell are interested in the principal action, the Poet could not fail of a fine opportunity to display his happy talent for description. It is true that some would think, that a greater simplicity in the principal action, and more human actors if possible, would have been better, and especially the latter, as affording more natural characters. It must be granted, that the Marvellous, that favourite beauty among the ancient Epic Writers, appears most in such extraordinary characters as are employed in carrying on the action of this Poem; for I cannot help thinking, that the generality of Epic Writers among the Ancients lay under a mistake, when they imagined, that as often as they introduced a wonderful incident, they added a new beauty to their work; and I almost suspect that *Virgil* himself has been misled by this affectation of the Marvellous.

CLAUDIAN is accused of sometimes falling into common-place reflections and philosophical enquiries, which lead him from the purpose of his story, and that he affects to introduce too many circumstances in his description.

HE is so fine a writer, taken altogether, that I think it just to shew his faults, lest the less judicious reader might sometimes be misled by the charms of his imagery to admire what is faulty in its place, however beautiful; if considered singly and without regard to that relation it bears in proportion as a part to the whole. *Ovid* was sometimes guilty of this magnificent but unseasonable luxuriancy of fancy, which like that in leaves in fruit-trees always bespeaks them distempered, and is generally attended with, or the consequence of a small blow, and little or bad fruit. We have a lively instance of this redundancy of imagination in the beginning of the 3d book: *Jupiter* is there described as calling a council of the Gods.

*Jupiter*

*Jupiter interea cinctam Thaumantida nimbis*
*Ire jubet, totoque Deos arcessere mundo.*
*Illa colorato Zephyros prælapsa volatu*
*Numina conclamat pelagi, Nymphasque morantes*
*Increpat, & fluvios humentibus evocat antris.*
*Ancipites trepidique ruunt, quæ causa quietos*
*Excierit, tanto quæ res agitanda tumultu.*
*Ut patuit stellata domus, considere jussi:*
*Nec confusus honos: cœlestibus ordine sedes*
*Prima datur: tractum proceres tenuere secundum*
*Æquorei, placidus Nereus, & lucida Phorci*
*Canities; Glaucum series extrema biformem*
*Accipit, & certo mansurum Protea vultu.*
*Nec non & senibus fluviis concessa sedendi*
*Gloria; plebeio stat cætera more juventus,*
*Mille amnes: liquidis incumbunt patribus udæ*
*Naiades, & taciti mirantur sidera Fauni,*
*Tum gravis ex alto Jupiter sic orsus Olympo.*

Mean time Imperial *Jove* sent *Iris* down
To call the Gods to council at his throne.
Wrapt in her flushing robes she swiftly flies
On gentle Zephyrs thro' the yielding skies:
She cites the Deities, beneath the sea
And watry Nymphs, and chides their long delay.
Then calls the Rivers from their oozy caves:
At once they start and rise above the Waves,
In open air, th' important cause to know
Of the loud summons, which they heard below.
The shining Palace opes, the Powers appear,
And all in just degrees are seated there.
First the Celestials sit; the second place
Falls to the honours of the Watry race,
*Nerus* and foaming *Phorcus*: *Glaucus* last
Of double form, th' inferior rank possess'd
With varying *Proteus* in one shape restrain'd:
The better Rivers then their session gain'd:
The youthful train stand humbly by their side,
A thousand streams, which roll a modest tide.

Each *Nais* leans upon her liquid fire,
The staring Fauns the radiant stars admire.

*Jabez Hughes.*

*Virgil* says more to the purpose of his subject in five lines, than CLAUDIAN has here in eighteen.

*Panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi,*
*Consiliumque vocat divûm pater atquè hominum rex*
*Sideream in sedem: terras unde arduus omnes,*
*Castraque Dardanidum aspectat, populosque Latinos;*
*Considunt tectis bipatentibus, incipit ipse.*

Lib. 10. Ver. 1.

The gates of heav'n unfold; Jove summons all
The Gods to council, in the common hall.
Sublimely seated he surveys from far
The fields, the camp, the fortune of the war;
And all th'inferior world: from first to last
The sov'reign Senate in degrees are plac'd.
Then thus th'almighty Sire began.

A description of the same kind out of the *Metamorphoses* will shew that CLAUDIAN's genius very much resembled *Ovid*'s.

*Quæ pater ut summa vidit Saturnius arce,*
*Ingemit, & facto nondum vulgata recenti,*
*Fœda Lycaoniæ referens convivia mensæ*
*Ingentes animo & dignas Jove concipit iras;*
*Conciliumque vocat; tenuit mora nulla vocatos.*
*Est via sublimis, cœlo manifesta sereno,*
*Lactea nomen habet; candore notabilis ipso.*
*Hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis,*
*Regalemque domum: dextra levaque Deorum*
*Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.*
*Plebs habitat diversa locis: a fronte potentes*
*Cœlicolæ, clarique suos posuere Penates.*
*Hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur,*
*Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia cœli.*
*Ergo ubi marmoreo superi sedere recessu*
*Celsior ipse loco, sceptroque innixus eburno*
*Terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque*

*Cæsariem,*

*Cæsariem, cum qua terram, mare, sidera movit,*
*Talibus inde modis ora indignantia solvit.*
Lib. I. Fab. 2.

Which when the King of Gods beheld from high,
(Withal revolving in his memory
What he himself had found on earth of late
*Lycaon*'s guilt, and his inhuman treat)
He sigh'd; nor longer with his pity strove;
But kindled to a wrath becoming Jove:
Then call'd a General Council of the Gods;
Who summon'd issue from their blest abodes,
And fill th'assembly with a shining train.
A way there is in heav'n's expanded plain,
Which when the skies are clear, is seen below,
And mortals by the name of Milky know.
The ground-work is of stars; thro' which the road
Lies open to the Thunderer's abode:
The Gods of greater Nations dwell around,
And, on the right and left the palace bound;
The commons where they can: the nobler sort
With winding doors wide open front the Court.
This place as far as earth with heav'n may vie,
I dare to call the Louvre of the sky.
When all were plac'd, in seats distinctly known
And he, their Father, had assum'd the throne,
Upon his iv'ry sceptre first he leant,
Then shook his head, that shook the firmament:
Air, earth, and seas, obey'd th' almighty nod,
And with a gen'ral fear confess'd the God;
At length with indignation thus he broke
His awful silence and the pow'rs bespoke.

In some places I think CLAUDIAN rather more luxuriant than *Ovid:* Such is his description of the general joy of all the infernal world at the Nuptials of *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, where he seems fond of inserting every circumstance that occurred to his imagination. But as it is beautiful in itself, though disproportionate, I shall transcribe it, and add this remark,

That I would not be underſtood to condemn that for bad Poetry, which is luxuriant, nor to admire every thing that is correct. A dull Poet at the expence of much labour and pains may poſſibly come near to *Virgil*'s correctneſs, but without his ſpirit and thought; as an extravagant and ſickly fancy may ſometimes reſemble the rich abundance of *Ovid* and CLAUDIAN; but examination will ſhew the former to be an indigeſted heap of Bombaſt, and the latter a magnificent profuſion of fine images. But as true beauty conſiſts in a juſt ſymmetry of parts concurring to make up the whole in a graceful and uniform proportion, it is the buſineſs of judgment to correct the too vigorous ſallies of the imagination; as on the other hand, the fancy is requiſite to adorn and enliven the regularity and exactneſs of the judgment.

*———————— Alterius ſic*
*Altera poſcit opem res & conſpirat amicè.*

But to return to CLAUDIAN's deſcription:

*Pallida lætatur legio, genteſque ſepultæ*
*Luxuriant, epuliſque vacant genialibus umbræ:*
*Grata coronati peragunt convivia manes:*
*Rumpunt inſoliti tenebroſa ſilentia cantus.*
*Sedantur gemitus Erebi, ſe ſponte relaxat*
*Squalor, & æternam patitur rareſcere noctem:*
*Urna nec incertos verſat Minoia ſortes;*
*Verbera nulla ſonant, nulloque trementia luctu*
*Impia dilatis reſpirant Tartara pœnis.*
*Non rota ſuſpenſum præceps Ixiona torquet:*
*Non aqua Tantaleis ſubducitur invida labris:*
*Solvitur Ixion, invenit Tantalus undas,*
*Et Tityos tandem ſpatioſos erigit artus:*
*Squalentiſque novem detexit jugera campi,*
*Tantus erat; lateriſque piger ſulcator opaci,*
*Invitus trahitur laſſo de pectore vultur,*
*Abreptaſque dolet jam non ſibi creſcere fibras.*
*Oblitæ ſcelerum, formidatique furoris*
*Eumenides, Cratera parant, & vina feroci*

Crine

*Crine bibunt; flexisque minis jam lene canentes,*
*Extendunt socios ad pocula plena cerastas.*
*Tunc & pestiferi pacatum flumen Averni*
*Innocuæ transistis aves, flatumque repressit*
*Amsanctus: tacuit fixo torrente vorago,*
*Tunc Acheronteos mutato gurgite fontes*
*Lacte novo tumuisse ferunt, ederisque virentem*
*Cocyton dulci perhibent undasse Lyæo:*
*Stamina nec rupit Lachesis, nec turbida sacris*
*Obstrepitant lamenta choris; mors nulla vagatur*
*In terris, nullæque rogum planxere parentes.*
*Navita non moritur fluctu, non cuspide miles,*
*Oppida funerei pollent immunia leti,*
*Impexamque senex velavit arundine frontem*
*Portitor, & vacuos egit cum carmine remos.*

Lib. 2. Ver. 326.

All Hell rejoices, and the buried dead
In wanton gambols jocundly are led:
And the crown'd *Manes* with the shades combine
In genial feasts, and in the revels join.
Now chearful songs th' eternal silence break;
No groans of ghosts the hollow caverns shake:
The gloom disperses, and continued night
Admits an infant gloom and purges into light.
*Minos* forgets his fatal urn to roll
No lashes sound, no punish'd spirits howl;
*Ixion* turns not on his hurrying wheel,
Nor swift from *Tantalus* the waters steal:
*Ixion* rests, and *Tantalus* relieves
His thirst impatient, and the draught receives.
And *Tytius* stretch'd, erected on the ground
His spacious limbs, which spread nine acres round.
Such was the giant's bulk; nor in his side
Her sharpen'd beak the rav'nous vulture try'd:
Held from the morsel she beholds in vain
The wounded liver heal and grow again.
The guilty croud th' avenging furies spare;
They loose their fetters, and the scourge forbear;
And for the draught the brimming bowl prepare:

Singing they quaff, and to the goblet hold
Their silent snakes, which curl'd in many a fold.
With holy fire a joyful torch they light,
And flames unwonted flash'd upon the Night.
Then first the birds across the poison'd lake
Securely could their airy journey take.
*Amsanctus* his impetuous roar supprest,
And his unruffled eddies smoothly rest;
And troubled *Acheron*, they say, with pride
Chang'd his sad wave and pour'd a milky tide:
*Cocytus* too, whom branching Ivies hem,
With gen'rous wine inrich'd his silent stream.
The Fates lay down their shears; no mournful cries
Nor frightful clamours, nor laments arise.
Death paus'd above; no hapless sons expire,
Nor weeping parents watch the fun'ral fire:
Nor ships at sea, nor soldiers in the fight,
Nor towns by storm are lost, for Death suspends his right.
Old *Charon* Reeds around his temples wears,
And sings as he his empty ferry steers. *Hughes.*

*Pluto*'s speech to *Proserpine* to comfort her as he is conveying her to Hell, is full of very pleasing images, very proper to pacify her sorrow and indignation, and to persuade the Goddess to entertain a better opinion of her future abode among the Shades. I shall subjoin Mr. *Eusden*'s translation, which tho' in some parts a little paraphrastical, has more of CLAUDIAN's spirit in it than Mr. *Hughes*'s, and therefore will be more acceptable to the *English* Reader.

*Desine funestis animum, Proserpina, curis*
*Et vano vexare metu: majora dabuntur*
*Sceptra, nec indigni tedas patiere mariti.*
*Ille ego Saturni proles, cui machina rerum*
*Servit, & immensum tendit per inane potestas.*
*Amissum ne crede diem: sunt altera nobis*
*Sidera; sunt orbes alij, lumenque videbis*

*Cultoresque*

*Cultoresque pios: illic prætiosior ætas*
*Aurea progenies habitant, semperque tenemus*
*Quod superi meruere semel: nec mollia desunt*
*Prata tibi: Zephyris illic melioribus halant*
*Perpetui flores, quos nec tua protulit Henna.*
*Est etiam lucis arbor prædives opacis,*
*Fulgentes viridi ramos curvata metallo.*
*Hæc tibi sacra datur, fortunatumque tenebis*
*Autumnum, & fulvis semper ditabere pomis.*
*Parva loquor: quicquid liquidus complectitur Aër,*
*Quicquid alit tellus, quicquid salis æquora verrunt,*
*Quod fluvii volvunt, quod nutrivere paludes*
*Cuncta tuis pariter cedent mortalia regnis,*
*Lunari subjecta Globo, qui septimus auras*
*Ambit, & externis mortalia separat astris.*
*Sub tua purpurei venient vestigia reges*
*Deposito luxu turba cum paupere misti.*
*Omnia mors æquat: tu damnatura nocentes:*
*Tu requiem latura piis: te judice sontes*
*Improba cogentur vitæ commissa fateri.*
*Accipe Lethæo famulas cum gurgite Parcas.*
*Sit fatum quodcunque voles: hæc fatus ovantes,*
*Exhortatur equos, & Tænara mitior intrat.*

Lib. 2. Ver. 277.

Cease, cease fair Nymph to lavish precious tears,
And discompose your soul with airy fears;
Look on *Sicilia*'s glitt'ring courts with scorn,
A nobler sceptre shall that hand adorn.
Imperial pomp shall sooth a gen'rous pride,
The Bridegroom never will disgrace the Bride.
If you above terrestrial thrones aspire,
From heav'n I spring, and *Saturn* was my sire.
The pow'r of *Pluto* stretches all around,
Uncircumscrib'd by Nature's utmost bound:
Where matter mould'ring dies, where forms decay,
Thro' the vast trackless void extends my sway.
Mark not with mournful eyes the fainting light,
Nor tremble at this interval of night;

A fairer ſcene ſhall open to your view,
An earth more verdant, and a heav'n more blue.
Another *Phœbus* gilds thoſe happy ſkies,
And other Stars with purer flames ariſe.
There chaſte adorers ſhall their praiſes join,
And with the choiceſt gifts enrich your ſhrine.
No change of ages knows the bliſsful clime,
The Golden firſt began, t'endure with lateſt time.
Your world a while that Golden Age could boaſt,
But here it flouriſh'd and ſhall ne'er be loſt.
Perpetual Zephyrs breath thro' fragrant bow'rs,
And painted meads ſmile with unbidden flow'rs;
Flow'rs of immortal bloom and various hue
No rival ſweets in your own *Enna* grew.
In the receſs of a cool ſylvan glade
A monarch tree projects no vulgar ſhade:
Encumber'd with their wealth, the branches bend,
And golden apples to your reach deſcend.
Spare not the fruit, but pluck the blooming ore,
The yellow harveſt will increaſe the more.
But I too long on trifling themes explain.
Nor ſpeak th' unbounded glory of your reign:
Whole Nature owns your pow'r whate'er his birth,
And lives and moves o'er all the face of earth,
Or in old Ocean's mighty caverns ſleep,
Or ſportive roll along the foamy deep;
Or on ſtiff pinions airy journeys take,
Or cut the floating ſtream or ſtagnant lake;
In vain they labour to preſerve their breath,
And ſoon fall victims to your ſubject Death.
Unnumber'd triumphs ſwift to you he brings;
Hail Goddeſs of all ſublunary things!
Empires that ſink above, here riſe again,
And worlds unpeopled crowd th' *Elyſian* plain.
The rich, the poor, the monarch, and the ſlave
Know no ſuperior honours in the grave.
Proud tyrants once, and lawrel'd chiefs ſhall come
And kneel, and trembling wait from you their doom.
The impious forc'd ſhall then their crimes diſcloſe,
And ſee paſt pleaſures teem with future woes;

Deplore

Deplore in darkneſs your impartial ſway,
While ſpotleſs ſouls enjoy the fields of day.
When ripe for ſecond birth the dead ſhall ſtand
In ſhiv'ring throngs on the *Lethean* ſtrand,
That ſhade whom you approve ſhall firſt be brought
To quaff oblivion in the pleaſing draught:
Whoſe thread of life juſt ſpun you would renew,
But nod, and *Clotho* ſhall rewind the Clue.
Let no diſtruſt of pow'r your joys abate,
Speak what you wiſh, and what you ſpeak is Fate.
  The Raviſher thus ſooth'd the weeping fair,
And check the fury of his ſteeds with care.
Poſſeſs'd of beauty's charms, he calmly rode,
And love firſt ſoften'd the relentleſs God. *Euſden.*

I ſhall add ſome other paſſages for the illuſtration of this Poem. *Pluto*'s being preſently calmed by the declaration of *Lacheſis* is finely compared to the power of *Æolus* in reſtraining the violence of the winds.

——— *Vix illa pepercit,*
*Erubuitque preces, animuſque relanguit atrox,*
*Quamvis indocilis flecti: ceu turbine rauco*
*Cum gravis armatur Boreas, glacieque nivali*
*Hiſpidus, & Getica concretus grandine pennas*
*Bella cupit, pelagus, ſilvas, campoſque ſonoro*
*Flamine rapturus: ſi forte adverſus aënos*
*Æolus objecit poſtes, vaneſcit inanis*
*Impetus, & fractæ redeunt in clauſtra procellæ.*
Lib. 1. Ver. 67.

Scarce had ſhe finiſh'd, when his gloomy mind,
Unus'd to melt, was at her pray'r inclin'd:
His fury falls, and cooling in his blood,
His paſſion ſettles and indignant mood;
As when hoarſe *Boreas* arming all the rage
Of the wild whirlwind in his hollow cage
Prepares a wreck, and meditates from far
A bleak deſtruction, and a wintry war,
To freeze the floods, and bury in the ſnow
The leafleſs foreſts, and the ground below,

To toss the billows of the mounting main,
And beat his ratling hailstones on the plain;
If then his God the brazen gates oppose,
And in his hold the blust'ring tempest close,
His swelling wrath in empty threats expires,
And silent to his cave the hussing blast retires.

*Hughes.*

AND as most of the Poets have described mount *Etna*, as abounding with extraordinary images, the reader may be pleased to see CLAUDIAN's manner of treating it: that of *Sicily* is immediately preceding, and they are both so beautiful, that I chuse to present them in one view. He concludes the description of *Ætna* with a short philosophical enquiry into the causes of those strange eruptions. *Lucan* often expatiates much more on the like occasions, tho' I cannot altogether justify those learned digressions, yet they are entertaining if not tedious nor too intricate.

———*Trinacria quondam*
*Italiæ pars una fuit; sed pontus & æstas*
*Mutavêre situm: rupit confinia Nereus*
*Victor, & abscissos interluit æquore montes:*
*Parvaque cognatas prohibent discrimina terras.*
*Nunc illam socia raptam tellure trisulcam*
*Opponit natura mari: caput inde Pachyni*
*Respuit Ionias prætentis rupibus iras:*
*Hinc latrat Gætula Thetis, Lilybæaque pulsat*
*Brachia consurgens; hinc dedignata teneri*
*Concutit objectum rabies Tyrrhena Pelorum.*
*In medio scopulis se porrigit Ætna perustis;*
*Ætna Giganteos nunquam tacitura triumphos,*
*Enceladi Bustum, qui saucia terga revinctus*
*Spirat inexhaustum flagranti pectore sulphur.*
*Et quoties detrectat onus cervice rebelli*
*In dextram lævumque latus: tunc insula fundo*
*Vellitur, & dubiæ nutant cum mœnibus urbes.*
*Ætnæos apices solo cognoscere visu,*
*Non aditu tentare licet; pars cætera frondet*
*Arboribus, teritur nullo cultore cacumen.*

*Nunc*

*Nunc vomit indigenas nimbos, piceaque gravatum*
*Fœdat nube diem: nunc molibus astra lacessit*
*Terrificis, damnisque suis incendia nutrit.*
*Sed quamvis nimio fervens exuberet æstu,*
*Scit nivibus servare fidem, pariterque favillis*
*Durescit glacies tanti secura vaporis,*
*Arcano defensa gelu, fumoque fideli.*
*Lambit contiguas innoxia flamma pruinas.*
*Quæ scopulos tormenta rotant? quæ tanta cavernas*
*Vis glomerat, quo fonte ruit Vulcanius amnis?*
*Sive quod objicibus discurrens ventus opertis,*
*Offenso per saxa furit rimosa meatu,*
*Dum scrutatur iter, libertatemque reposcens*
*Putria multivagis populatur flatibus antra.*
*Seu mare sulfurei ductum per viscera montis*
*Oppressis ignescit aquis, & pondera librat.*

Lib. I. Ver. 140.

*Trinacria* join'd with *Italy* before
Th'impetuous ocean sunder'd either shore,
With the swol'n surge, the rooted hills are rent,
And the land rested from the continent.
In neighb'ring ken the several coasts are seen,
And the victorious seas triumphant pour between.
The new made Island with three angles clos'd
Is to the rage of warring waves oppos'd:
For here *Pachinus* with his ridgy sides
Rolls off the fury of th'*Ionian* tides;
And there the billows from *Getulia*'s shore,
Lash *Lilybeum* and indignant roar;
And brookless of restraint, the *Tyrrhene* main
On firm *Pelorus* tries its force in vain.
Fix'd in the midst is fiery *Ætna* found,
*Ætna* for vanquish'd Giants still renown'd:
*Enceladus*'s load who crush'd beneath
From his large breast does burning tempests breathe:
Still as the monster, weary of the weight,
Exchanges sides, he shakes the mountains height;
*Sicilia* heaves, and ev'ry tott'ring wall
Leans to the ground, and meditates a fall:

Her pointed summits from afar are shown,
And are accessible to sight alone:
While on her other parts fresh greens appear,
And groves of trees their leafy branches rear:
No hardy hind dares turn the sultry soil
On the high crown, and cultivate with toil;
For now black clouds and tempests force their way,
And with their loathsome pitch pollute the day.
Now massy fragments of the shiver'd stone,
Torn from her root, against the stars are thrown.
But tho' the burnings rage with such excess,
Yet faithful to the snows, they keep perpetual peace;
And hoary winter does her seat maintain,
Secure of thaws and unmolested reign;
Coldly she hovers on the freezing coast,
And the swift flames sweep harmless o'er the frost.
What forceful engines whirl aloft in air,
The craggy quarries, and the mountain tear?
From what strange source proceeds the burning stream,
Which on the wasted vallies spouts the flame?
Or in confinement choak'd th'imprison'd wind
Pushes around an open vent to find,
And in its course resisted by the rock,
Bursts the blind dens, subverted with the shock;
Or the sea, ent'ring thro' the sulph'rous veins,
Boils with the fires, and on the blasted plains
Displodes the mingled ruin; wildly thrown,
The stones and liquid flames fall with destruction down.
*Hughes.*

*Ceres*'s anxiety and concern for fear of some mischance that might have befallen her daughter, and her amazement upon the discovery of her loss, is very aptly compared to the shepherd amazed at his return to find his flocks taken out of his fold; and to the tender care of the mother bird, who has left her young in quest of food. The whole passage is full of the tenderest sentiments.

——— *Digreditur*

——*Digreditur templis: sed nulla ruenti*
*Mobilitas: tardos queritur non ire jugales.*
*Immeritásque movens alterno verbere pennas*
*Sicaniam quærit, cum nec dum absconderit Iden:*
*Cuncta pavet, speratque nihil: sic æstuat ales*
*Quæ teneros humili fœtus commiserit orno*
*Allatura cibos, & plurima cogitat absens:*
*Ne fragilem ventus discusserit arbore nidum;*
*Ne furtum pateant homini, neu præda colubris.*
*Ut domus excubijs incustodita remotis,*
*Et resupinati neglecto cardine postes,*
*Flebilis & tacitæ species apparuit aulæ;*
*Non expectato respectu cladis, amictus*
*Conscidit, & fractas cum crine avellit aristas.*
*Hæserunt lachrymæ; non vox, non spiritus oris*
*Redditur, atque imis vibrat tremor ossa medullis.*
*Succidui titubant gressus foribusque reclusis,*
*Dum vacuas sedes, & desolata pererrat*
*Atrio, semirutas confuso stamine telas,*
*Atque interceptas agnoscit pectinis artes,*
*Divinus perit ille labor, spatiumque relictum*
*Audax sacrilego supplebat Aranea textu.*
*Nec deflet, plangitve malum: tamen oscula telæ*
*Figit, & abrumpit mutas in fila querelas.*
*Attritosque manu radios projectaque pensa*
*Cunctaque virgineo sparsa oblectamina ludo*
*Ceu natam, pressat gremio: castumque cubile*
*Desertosque toros, & sicubi sederit olim*
*Perlegit: attonitus stabulo ceu pastor inani,*
*Cui pecus aut rabies Pœnorum inopina leonum,*
*Aut populatrices infestavére catervæ:*
*Serus at ille redit, vestataque pascua lustrans*
*Non responsuros ciet, imploratque juvencos.*

Lib. 3. Ver. 137.

Then issuing from the fane, she took her way,
And thinks her Dragons linger with delay:
Impatiently she lashes on their flight,
And seeks *Sicilia* ere she lost the sight
Of *Ida*'s hill; obnoxious to her tears,
Nothing she hopes, and ev'ry thing she fears.

So

So fears the mother-bird whofe callow young
On a low afhe's trembling boughs are hung:
And while fhe fetches food, her little breaft
With anxious doubts is carefully poffeft,
Left the rude wind fhould fhake them from the tree,
Or bufy boys the humble palace fee,
Or cruel ferpents feize the tender prey,
And bear the helplefs children far away.
Expos'd when *Ceres* faw th'unguarded dome,
Their gate wide open, and an empty room,
All hufh'd within; fhe yielded to her fears,
Her flowing garments mournfully fhe tears,
The chaplet on her head, and rends her yellow hairs:
Her tears congeal, her voice is now no more,
And a deep trembling feizes her all o'er.
She ventures in, and through the quiet houfe
And filent courts with ftagg'ring paces goes;
And, as fhe rolls around her heavy eyes,
Th'unfinifh'd purple in the woof fhe fpies.
In vain the maid her heav'nly art had try'd,
*Arachne* boldly had the reft fupply'd,
And ftretch'd her filmy threads from fide to fide.
She weeps not, nor with cries her lofs deplores,
But kifs'd the veft, and dumb complainings pours:
The rock, the wheel, and ev'ry little toy
Which did the Virgin's fportful hours employ,
As her loft *Proferpine* fhe fondly preft
Clofe in her lap, and hugg'd them on her breaft;
Flies to her empty bed, and ev'ry place
Where her child us'd, does the fad mother trace.
So looks the herdfman, when he finds the ftall
Silent of lowings and the bleating call,
Which wolves or nightly lions have betray'd,
Or plund'ring foldiers to the camp convey'd:
Too late the groom returns, and o'er the plain
And neighb'ring paftures feeks the ravifh'd train,
And makes his mimic cries and wonted founds in vain.

*Hughes.*

I fhall

I ſhall give no more quotations of this Poem: But as CLAUDIAN is a Poet, whoſe writings next to *Ovid*'s are admirably adapted to improve the fancy of a young Poet, and abound with a variety of ſubjects and kinds of Poetry, I thought after having cautioned the reader of his foible, that I could not do better than to dwell ſomewhat largely upon him.

I ſhall cloſe what I have ſaid of the Rape of *Proſerpine* with a general reflection on EPIC POETRY.

OF all the works of genius over which the Muſes preſide, there is nothing ſo difficult as to write a perfect Epic Poem. Even *Homer* and *Virgil* are found not exempt from faults when examined by the ſevere rules of exact Criticiſm; and yet, tho' ſome perſons of good taſte have reproved me as partial to *Virgil*, whoſe conduct I have elſewhere magnified beyond meaſure, I think upon good conſideration, and after comparing his judgment with that of all the writers before and after him in the Epic Way, I find no cauſe to retract my former opinion of him, but on the contrary, it ſeems that many of his errors, as the *Critics* call them, are owing to his ſingular modeſty, and the great veneration he had for *Homer* the great Father of all ſublime Poetry, whoſe vaſt and unbounded genius ſeemed above that exact attention neceſſary to preſerve that juſt diſtribution of parts, and fine proportion they muſt bear to the whole. But as all I can ſay would fall ſhort of their excellency, let us return to CLAUDIAN, whom we muſt allow his due praiſe even in the Epic Way, when we recollect what a great Interval of time paſſed between him and *Virgil*, during which the *Roman* Empire was continually declining both in arts and arms; this conſideration will incline us to treat his faults more favourably, at the ſame time that we may endeavour to avoid them: ſince it is next to a prodigy to ſee him breaking thro' ſo many impediments, and riſe to a perfection that ſets him above moſt of the Poets that preceded him, as he is infinitely beyond all that ſucceeded him for many ages.

The rest of his Poems are either Panegyrics or Invectives, with some Epistles and Epigrams. Several Critics are of opinion, that his Invectives are the most perfect of all his Writings, and that he has discovered in them all a superior talent for Satire. Those against *Eutropius* and *Rufinus* have so many admirers that it is hard to say which of the two deserves the preference: Not to be too prolix, I shall content my self with presenting the reader a sketch of the latter, in order to give some idea of Claudian's invention in this species of Poetry, which being a mixture of satire and praise require an artist's hand.

The Poet introduces his subject with this reflection, that tho' he had hitherto doubted whether the world was governed by Providence, seeing the prosperity of wicked men, yet the downfall of that wicked minister *Rufinus* now fully convinced him of his errour and justified the Gods. After an invocation of the Muse, he proceeds to relate how the Fury *Alecto* being enraged at the universal tranquillity of the *Roman* Empire under *Theodosius* I. assembles in council all the furies and plagues of Hell, and proposes to make war on the Gods. *Megæra* rising up, declares against this design, but tells them, if they were content to plague the lower world, she had her self trained up *Rufinus*, who would be a fit Instrument for their purpose. After having given his character, she proposes to prefer him in the Imperial Court. The whole assembly applaud this proposal, and *Megæra* breaking it up, dips her torch in the flames of the River *Phlegethon*, and rises up from Hell near the confines of *Italy* and *Gaul*. The Sun darkens at her appearance, dismal cries fill the air, and the adjacent countries are shocked with an earthquake. The Fury disguised like an old woman hastens to the city where *Rufinus* dwelt, and at first sight of him seems amazed to find in him a being more mischievously inclined than her self. After having reproved *Rufinus* for wasting his youth at home in obscurity, when the highest honours wait him abroad, she tells him of the

 power

power of her magic charms; and to convince him of it, ſhe transforms the houſe where he was into a ſplendid palace. Tempted by this prodigy and the promiſed glory, *Rufinus* declares his readineſs to obey the Fury's inſtructions, and ſails away to *Conſtantinople*, where by his vile practices and ſervile adulation he ſoon gets preferment. The Poet goes on to deſcribe his inſatiable avarice, and the general miſery occaſioned by his oppreſſions; and then expatiates in praiſe of integrity and moderation, and ſets *Rufinus* above the moſt celebrated tyrants for cruelty. The Poet proceeds to ſhew how *Stilico* was at this time the only ſanctuary the oppreſſed had to fly to: deſcribes his victory over the *Getæ*, after he had by his prayers obtained the aſſiſtance of *Mars*: *Stilico* and the God of War are repreſented as routing the *Barbarians* with equal valour. In the mean time *Megæra* exults at the miſeries which *Rufinus* had brought on the Empire by his male-adminiſtration, and inſults the Goddeſs of Juſtice, who ſate diſconſolate in the palace, and bids her retire to Heaven. The Goddeſs tells the Fury, that *Honorius* was coming to reſtore peace and plenty to the ſtate, a deſcription of whoſe happy effects concludes the 1ſt book.

Claudian begins the ſecond with an account of *Stilico*'s glory, who is now intruſted with the chief adminiſtration of affairs, and commands the united forces of the two empires. *Rufinus* fallen into diſgrace, and deſpairing to regain his loſt power, propoſes at leaſt to involve the Empire in the ſame ruin with himſelf; in order to which he calls in the barbarous Nations, who invade the eaſtern Empire from all parts, and lay ſiege to *Conſtantinople*. Whilſt the inhabitants prepare for their defence, *Rufinus* appears pleaſed at the public calamities, and inſults the people in their diſtreſs. *Stilico* in the mean time advances to their relief, and paſſes the *Alps*: But *Rufinus*, by his intrigues extorts an order from *Arcadius*, to bid *Stilico* retire with the weſtern forces, and for the

the eaſtern army to return to *Conſtantinople*, without attacking the *Huns*. *Stilico* obeys; the eaſtern legions regret his departure, and enter into a conſpiracy againſt *Rufinus*; who triumphing at his having thus ſupplanted *Stilico*, and full of the expectation of being declared *Cæſar*, advances with the Emperor *Arcadius* to meet the army; who, after having paid their duty to their prince, cloſe in upon *Rufinus* and maſſacre him. The general joy of the people on this occaſion is deſcribed by the Poet, who repreſents Hell itſelf as receiving *Rufinus* with horror. CLAUDIAN proceeds to deſcribe the tribunal of *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*, and the ſeveral puniſhments of the wicked, and relates how *Rufinus* is condemned to ſuffer all the united tortures of the damned, and to be thruſt down into the bottom of *Tartarus*.

NEXT to his Invectives, we are to conſider ſeveral panegyrical Poems of CLAUDIAN. Of this ſort are thoſe on the 3d, 4th, and 6th Conſulſhip of *Honorius*, and that in honour of *Mallius Theodorus* on the ſame occaſion: The praiſes of *Stilico*, in three books; and two Poems, one of the *Getic*, and the other of the *Gildonic* war. The Poet has ſtretched his fancy to the utmoſt in theſe Poems, to ſound *Stilico*'s praiſe. It is admirable to ſee in how many places he has drawn his character to advantage, without repeating the ſame thoughts or images. He makes him ſhine in the ſeveral relations of parent, general, huſband, patron, friend and ſtateſman; and add a luſtre to every office, by his manner of diſcharging it. But as true praiſe is founded on truth, the Poet does not borrow many ornaments from fiction, but aims at a noble unadorned manner of deſcribing the great actions of his Hero, I ſhould be too long, were I to dwell on the particular beauties to be met with in all theſe Poems: I ſhall only take notice of a few.

IN the Poem of the third conſulſhip of *Honorius*, after having deſcribed the dawn of that prince's courage in his infancy, when he comes to ſpeak of it as he approached to manhood, he makes the following noble compariſon. *Ut*

*Ut leo quem fulvæ matris spelunca tegebat*
*Uberibus solitum pasci, cum crescere sentit*
*Ungue pedes, & terga jubis, & dentibus ora;*
*Jam negat imbelles epulas, & rupe relicta*
*Gætulo comes ire Patri, stabulisque minari*
*Æstuat, & celsi tabo sordere juvenci.* Ver. 27.

So the young lion, whom with care at home
The tender dam had suckled, longs to roam:
Now with grown claws his nervous foot distends,
And down his neck the brindled mane descends;
The cave forsakes, disdains ignoble food,
Seeks out his sire, and roars about the wood:
Now meditates t'invade the trembling stall,
And triumphs in the strongest heifer's fall.

*Theodosius* the Great, the father of *Honorius*, had gained a signal Victory over the *Barbarians* that had over-run all *Spain*; in which he seemed as it were favoured by Providence, that raised a strong wind, which blew with so much violence, that it turned back the enemy's arrows and javelins on themselves. This circumstance is taken notice of by the Poet in a very sublime manner.

*Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis*
*Obruit adversus acies, revolutaque tela*
*Vertit in auctores, & turbine reppulit hastas.*
*O nimium dilecte Deo! cui fundit ab antris*
*Æolus armatas hyemes; cui militat æther,*
*Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.* Ver. 93.

For thee the North pours forth his freezing blast,
And furious lays the adverse armies waste:
Met by the whirlwind, back the spear recoils,
Attacks his master, and his purpose foils.
Hail, favourite of Heav'n! for whom the winds
Arm'd with their fiercest rage, the God unbinds;
The dreadful host embattled fill the sky,
And at thy signal swift with ruin fly.

The Apotheosis of *Theodosius* and taking his place among the Constellations is thus described, when he had

had ſpoke his laſt words to *Stilico,* to whom he recommended his children.

*———Nec plura locutus,*
*Sicut erat liquido ſignavit tramite nubes:*
*Ingrediturque globum Lunæ, limenque reliquit*
*Arcados, & Veneris clementes advolut auras.*
*Hinc Phœbi permenſus iter, flammamque nocentem*
*Gradivi, placidumque Jovem, ſtetit arce ſuprema*
*Algenti qua Zona riget Saturnia tractu.*
*Machina laxatur cœli, rutilæque pateſcunt*
*Sponte fores; Arctoa parat convexa Bootes,*
*Auſtrales reſerat portas ſuccinctus Orion,*
*Invitantque novum ſidus, pendentque viciſſim*
*Quas partes velit ille ſequi, quibus eſſe ſodalis*
*Dignetur ſtellis, aut qua regione morari.*
*O decus ætherium, terrarum gloria quondam,*
*Te tuus Oceanus, natali gurgite laſſum*
*Excipit & notis Hiſpania proluit undis.*
*Fortunate parens, primos cum detegis ortus*
*Adſpicis Arcadium, cum te proclivior urges*
*Occiduum viſus remoratur Honorius ignem;*
*Et quocunque vagos flectas ſub cardine curſus*
*Natorum per Regna venis, qui mente ſerena*
*Maturoque regunt victas moderamine gentes,*
*Sæcula qui rurſus forment meliore metallo.*

Ver. 162.

This ſaid, the Hero with a train of light
Up to the Moon deſcrib'd his radiant flight;
Then takes his courſe, fair *Venus*' ſtar to find;
His next eſſay leaves *Mercury* behind;
Thence to bright *Phœbus*' paths he wings his way,
Advancing meets hot *Mars*' deſtructive ray;
*Jove*'s milder ſphere, ſtill ſoaring upwards, paſt,
And in cold *Saturn*'s orbit reſts at laſt.
Mean while, the heav'nly portals ſpreading wide,
Admit him with glad welcome on each ſide;
*Bootes* with his Wane the North unfolds;
The Southern gate *Orion* waiting holds;

Each

Each Conſtellation him invites to ſhare
Their glories, and æthereal honours wear:
Each clime each region courts the Heroe's ſtay,
Each ſtar officious ſtrives to clear the way.
O thou, bright ornament to Heav'n aſſign'd,
As once on Earth the pride of human-kind,
With native ſtreams th'*Atlantic* meets thy beams,
And *Spaniſh* waters lave thy wearied limbs:
Thrice happy parent, whoſe firſt courſe diſplays
Thy beams on thy *Arcadius*, and ſurveys
Thy lov'd *Honorius* with ſlow ſetting rays:
Still as through various climes thy orbit roves,
O'er diſtant regions coreſponding moves,
Through their wide realms thou go'ſt, whoſe upright ſway
Has taught a world ſubmiſſive to obey.
By them ev'n vanquiſh'd nations hope to find
Peace, and a Golden Age reſtore mankind.

In the fourth conſulſhip, *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, when aſſociated by their Father to the Empire, are compared to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: *Theodoſius* is deſcribed as returning in Triumph with his two ſons in the chariot with him.

*Lætior augurio genitor, natiſque ſuperbus*
*Jam paribus duplici fultus conſorte redibat,*
*Splendebatque pio complexus pignora curru.*
*Haud aliter ſummo gemini cum patre Lacones*
*Progenies Ledæa ſedent; in utroque relucent*
*Frater, utroque ſoror; ſimili Chlamys effluit auro;*
*Stellati pariter crines: juvat ipſe Tonantem*
*Error, & ambiguæ placet ignorantia matri.*
*Eurotas proprios diſcernere neſcit alumnos.*
Ver. 203.

At this fair omen their exulting ſire
Feels a new ſpring of joy his breaſt inſpire,
With ſecret pride their growing virtue views,
In each ſo equal, he can neither chuſe.
Grac'd with theſe partners of his crown and fame,
Triumphant in his car the Heroe came,

Such

Such *Jove* himself appear'd, when by his side
*Castor* and *Pollux* stood, fair *Leda*'s pride.
In each the brother and the sister shine,
Their golden robes alike and hair divine:
Ambiguous error from their likeness flows,
Ev'n old *Eurotas* no distinction knows:
Their dubious mother views the pleasing cheat,
And *Jove* himself smiles at the fair deceit.

*Theodosius*'s advice to *Honorius* in the same Poem is full of the noblest sentiments, and the best instructions how a Prince should govern his People, and shew the great liberty of the Poet and docility of the Prince to whom they are addressed.

But instead of singling out any more passages from these Poems, I shall conclude this Poet's life with part of his Epithalamium on *Honorius* and *Maria*, which is perhaps the compleatest Poem that was ever written on this subject: and I chuse to do so, because it has been very happily translated by Mr. *Eusden*; so that both the art and genius of the Poet may appear with advantage even to the English reader.

*Mons latus Ionium Cypri præruptus obumbrat*
*Invius humano gressu, Phariumque cubile*
*Proteus & septem despectat cornua Nili:*
*Hunc neque candentes audent vestire pruinæ,*
*Hunc venti pulsare timent, hunc lædere nimbi:*
*Luxuriæ Venerique vacat: pars acrior anni*
*Exulat, æterni patet indulgentia veris.*
*In campum se fundit apex: hunc aurea sepes*
*Circuit, & fulvo defendit prata Metallo.*
*Mulciber, ut perhibent, his oscula conjugis emit*
*Mœnibus, & tales uxoribus obtulit arces.*
*Intus rura micant, mœnius quæ subdita nullis*
*Perpetuum florent, Zephyro contenta colono:*
*Umbrosumque nemus, quo non admittitur ales,*
*Ni probet ante suos Diva sub judice cantus.*
*Quæ placuit, fruitur ramis; quæ victa recedit.*
*Vivunt in Venerem frondes, omnisque vicissim*

*Fælix arbor amat; nutat & ad mutua palmæ*
*Fœdera; populeo suspirat populus ictu;*
*Et platani platanis, alnoque assibilat alnus.*
*Labuntur gemini fontes: hic dulcis, amarus*
*Alter, & infusis corrumpunt mella venenis.*
*Unde Cupidineas armavit fama sagittas.*
*Mille pharetrati ludunt in margine fratres,*
*Ore pares, habitu similes, gens mollis amorum:*
*Hos Nymphæ pariunt: illum Venus aurea solum*
*Edidit: ille Deos, cœlumque & sidera cornu*
*Temperat, & summos dignatur figere reges.*
*Hi plebem feriunt: nec cætera Numina desunt.*
*Hic habitat nullo constricta licentia nodo,*
*Et flecti faciles iræ, vinoque madentes*
*Excubiæ, lachrymæque rudes, & gratus amantum*
*Pallor, & in primis titubans audacia furtis,*
*Jucundique metus, & non secura voluptas;*
*Et lasciva volant levibus perjuria pennis:*
*Hos inter petulans alta cervice juventas*
*Excludit senium luco: procul atria Divæ*
*Permutant radios, sylvaque obstante virescunt.*
*Lemnius hæc etiam gemmis exstruxit & auro,*
*Admiscens artem pretio, trabibusque Smaragdis*
*Supposuit cæsas hyacinthi rupe columnas:*
*Beryllo paries, & Iaspide lubrica surgunt*
*Limina, despectusque solo calcatur Achates.*
*In medio glebis redolentibus area dives*
*Præbet odoratas messes: hic mitis amomi,*
*Hic casiæ matura seges, Panchaia surgunt*
*Cinnama, nec sicca frondescunt vimina costo,*
*Tardoque sudanti prorepunt balsama ligno.*
*Quo postquam delapsus amor, longasque peregit*
*Penna vias; alacer passuque superbior intrat.*
*Cæsariem tunc forte Venus subnixa corusco*
*Fingebat solio, dextra lævaque sorores*
*Stabant Idaliæ: largos hæc nectaris imbres*
*Irrigat; hæc morsu numerosi dentis eburno*
*Multifidum discrimen arat: sed tertia retro*
*Dat varios nexus, & justo dividit orbes*
*Ordine, neglectam partem studiosa relinquens:*

*Plus error docuit: ſpeculi nec vultus egebat*
*Judicio: ſimilis tecto monſtratur in omni,*
*Et rapitur quocunque videt; dum ſingula cernit,*
*Seque probat, nati venientis conſpicit umbram,*
*Ambroſioque ſinu puerum complexa ferocem.*
In the fam'd *Cyprian* iſle a mountain ſtands,
That caſts a Shadow into diſtant lands:
Acceſs in vain by human feet is try'd,
Its lofty brow looks down with noble pride
On bounteous *Nile* thro' ſeven wide channels ſpread,
And ſees old *Proteus* in his oozy bed.
Along its ſides no hoary froſts preſume
To blaſt the myrtle ſhrubs, or nip the bloom.
The winds with caution ſweep the riſing flow'rs,
While balmy dews deſcend and vernal ſhow'rs.
The rolling Orbs no wintry horrors bring,
Fix'd in th'indulgence of eternal ſpring.
Unfading ſweets in purple ſcenes appear,
And genial breezes ſoften all the year.
The nice luxurious ſoul uncloy'd may rove
From pleaſures ſtill to circling pleaſures move,
For endleſs beauty kindles endleſs love.
The mountain, when the ſummit once you gain,
Falls by degrees, and ſinks into a plain,
Where the pleas'd eye may flow'ry meads behold
Enclos'd with branching oar, and hedg'd with Gold:
Or where large crops the gen'rous glebe ſupplies,
And yellow harveſts, unprovok'd, ariſe:
For by mild Zephyrs fan'd, the teeming ſoil
Yields ev'ry grain, nor aſks the peaſant's toil.
Theſe were the bribes, the price of heav'nly charms,
Theſe *Cytherea* won to *Vulcan*'s arms:
For ſuch a bliſs he ſuch a gift beſtow'd,
The rich, th'immortal labours of a God.
A ſylvan ſcene, in ſolemn ſtate diſplay'd,
Flatters each feather'd warbler with a ſhade;
But here no bird its painted wings can move,
Unleſs elected by the Queen of Love;
E'er made a member of this tuneful throng,
She hears the ſongſter, and approves the ſong.

The

The joyous victors hop from ſpray to ſpray,
The vanquiſh'd fly with mournful notes away.
Branches in branches twin'd compoſe the grove,
And ſhoot, and ſpread, and bloſſom into love.
The trembling palms their mutual vows repeat,
And bending poplars, bending poplars meet.
The diſtant plântanes ſeem to preſs more nigh,
And to the ſighing Alders, Alders ſigh.
Blue heav'ns above them ſmile, and all below
Two murm'ring ſtreams in wild meanders flow;
This mix'd with gall, and that like honey ſweet,
But ah! too ſoon th'unfriendly waters meet.
Steep'd in theſe ſprings (if verſe belief can gain)
The darts of Love their double power attain;
Hence all mankind a bitter ſweet have found,
A painful pleaſure, and a grateful wound.
Along the graſſy banks in bright array
Ten thouſand little loves their wings diſplay.
Quivers and bows their uſual ſport proclaim,
Their dreſs, their ſtature, and their looks the ſame;
Smiling in innocence, and ever young.
And tender as the Nymphs from whom they ſprung;
For *Venus* did but boaſt one only ſon,
And roſy *Cupid* was that boaſted one;
He uncontroul'd thro' heav'n extends his ſway,
And Gods and Goddeſſes by turns obey.
Or if he ſtoops on earth great princes burn,
Sicken on thrones, and wreath'd with lawrel mourn,
Th'inferior pow'rs o'er hearts inferior reign,
And pierce the rural fair or homely ſwain.
Here Love's imperial pomp is ſpread around,
Voluptuous liberty that knows no bound,
And ſudden ſtorms of wrath, which ſoon decline,
And midnight watchings o'er the fumes of wine;
Unartful tears and hectic looks, that ſhow
With ſilent eloquence the lover's woe;
Boldneſs unfledg'd, and to ſtol'n raptures new,
Half trembling ſtands, and ſcarcely dares purſue;
Fears that delight, and anxious doubts of joy,
Which check our ſwelling hopes, but not deſtroy;

 And

And ſhort-breath'd vows, forgot as ſoon as made,
On airy pinions flutter thro' the glade.
Youth with a haughty look and gay attire,
And rolling eyes that glow with ſoft deſire,
Shines forth, exalted on a pompous ſeat,
While ſullen cares, and wither'd age retreat.
Now from afar the palace ſeems to blaze,
And hither would extend its golden rays;
But by reflexion of the Grove is ſeen
The Gold ſtill varied by a waving green;
For *Mulciber* with ſecret pride beheld
How far his ſkill all human art excell'd;
And grown uxorious, did the work deſign
To ſpeak the Artiſt and the Art divine.
Proud columns tow'ring high, ſupport the frame,
That hewn from *Hyacinthian* quarries came;
The beams are em'ralds, and yet ſcarce adorn
The ruby walls on which themſelves are born.
The pavement, rich with veins of agate, lies,
And ſteps, with ſhining jaſpers, ſlipp'ry riſe.
Here ſpices in parterres promiſcuous blow,
Not from *Arabia*'s fields more odours flow.
The wanton winds through groves of Caſſia play,
And ſteal the ripen'd fragrancies away.
Here with its load the mild Amomum bends,
There Cinnamon in rival ſweets contends.
A rich perfume the raviſh'd ſenſes fills,
While from the weeping tree the Balm diſtills.
At theſe delightful bow'rs arrives at laſt
The God of Love, a tedious journey paſt;
Then ſhapes his way to reach the fronting gate,
Doubles his majeſty, and walks in ſtate.
It chanc'd, upon a radiant throne reclin'd,
*Venus* her golden treſſes did unbind;
Proud to be thus employ'd, on either hand
Th'*Idalian* ſiſters, rang'd in order, ſtand.
Ambroſial eſſence one beſtows in ſhow'rs,
And laviſhly whole ſtreams of *Nectar* pours.
With Iv'ry combs another's dextrous care,
Or curls, or opens the diſhevel'd hair;

A third,

A third, induſtrious, with a nicer eye
Inſtructs the ringlets in what form to lie;
Yet leaves ſome few, that not ſo cloſely preſt,
Sport in the wind, and wanton from the reſt.
Sweet negligence, by artful ſtudy wrought,
A graceful error, and a lovely fault.
The judgment of the glaſs is here unknown,
Here mirrors are ſupply'd by ev'ry ſtone.
Where'er the Goddeſs turns, her image falls,
And a new *Venus* dances on the walls.
Now while ſhe did her ſpotleſs form ſurvey,
Pleas'd with love's empire and almighty ſway,
She ſpy'd her ſon, and fir'd with eager joy,
Sprung forwards and embrac'd the fav'rite boy.

*Euſden.*

A Critical and Hiſtorical

# DISSERTATION

BY WAY OF

# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

# LIVES

OF THE

# Roman Dramatic Poets.

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## SECT. I.

## *Of the Riſe and Progreſs of the* GREEK DRAMA.

THE politeſt nations of antiquisy have always conſidered Dramatic Poetry as a very elegant and inſtructive branch of their public diverſions. In order therefore to trace it from its original, let us begin by a ſhort enquiry into the nature of thoſe public entertainments among them.

THE wiſeſt nations have always thought it expedient, to preſerve the memory of ſignal Victories, or other remarkable inſtances, as they imagined, of the divine favour, by ſolemn feſtivals appointed at certain ſeaſons, in honour of the Deity, whoſe benefits at

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that time they were deſirous to commemorate. Theſe religious Rites were the objects of the magiſtrate's peculiar care, and were generally accompanied by ſuch ſports and entertainments as were ſuitable to the taſte and inclination of the people. The greateſt law-givers truly judged, that the conveniences of ſociety were leaſt on the common people's ſide, who were tied down to hard labour at home, and moſt expoſed to the chance of war abroad. In order to alleviate theſe hardſhips, thoſe excellent men appointed them ſtated days of reſt and exemption from their uſual labours: and by conſecrating theſe days ſo ſet apart, firſt to divine ſervice; and then allowing the uſe of proper exerciſes and diverſions, they gave their people freſh ſpirit and courage to return with cheerfulneſs to their work, and filled their minds with the juſt ſentiments of gratitude and reverence to thoſe ſuperior powers, to whom, as they had been erroneouſly taught, they conceived themſelves indebted for the various bleſſings of life.

THESE diverſions, that at firſt were rude and ridiculous, nay ſometimes indecent, time inſenſibly improved into very uſeful and pleaſing entertainments; eſpecially when men of thought and leiſure were openly encouraged, by the liberality of the ſtate, and care of proper magiſtrates, to exert their talent in regulating and poliſhing theſe public ſchools of inſtruction. As honourable as this appellation may ſeem, the *Greek* ſtage will deſerve it, though in its beſt ſtate it might labour under ſome irregularities and defects: Yet there it was, that the generous principle of liberty and juſtice, of piety and compaſſion, and indeed of every ſocial virtue were recommended in the moſt authorized and agreeable manner. The fate of tyranny and the puniſhment of vice, was ſet forth in terrible examples drawn chiefly from the hiſtory of their anceſtors, or of the neighbouring ſtates. This was the buſineſs of Tragedy, while Comedy ridiculed and ſtrongly expoſed the abſurdities and follies of private life. Comedy

indeed was for a long time too bitter, and levelled at particular perſons, and therefore was in time reſtrained: Yet it well deſerves our notice, that it was not thoroughly reformed, till about the time of *Alexander* the Great, when the ſtates of *Greece* had retained nothing but the ſhadow of their former liberty, having loſt all their glory in a poor ſubjection to the arbitrary will of the *Macedonian* Princes.

THIS is a general account of the ſtate of the *Greek* Stage. The particular ceremony to which Dramatic Poetry owes its riſe, was the feaſt of *Bacchus*. The occaſion of ſacrificing a he-goat to this God, is thus related. When *Bacchus* had found out the method of planting and cultivating vines, and making wine, he communicated the ſecret to *Icarius*, who was then ſovereign of a ſmall territory in *Attica*. One day *Icarius* having taken a goat, that was gnawing his vines, and devouring his grapes, he juſtly looked upon this creature as a profeſſed enemy to *Bacchus*; and accordingly ſlew the goat as an agreeable victim to that God, or rather ſacrificed the miſchievous animal to his own reſentment. The neighbours were invited to partake of his joy; who growing merry with wine, began to dance round the altar, ſinging the praiſes of the Deity who had given them ſo pleaſant a Liquor. The whole company were ſo well pleaſed with the ceremony, which at the ſame time they looked upon as a ſolemn act of Religion, that it was reſolved by common conſent to celebrate it annually with ſongs and dances in honour of *Bacchus*. The time pitched upon was their vintage, whence it was called * TRYGODY, *the Song of the Vintage*; and from the Goat that was ſacrificed, TRAGEDY, *or the Song of the Goat*.

WHEN *Theſeus* had brought the diſperſed inhabitants of *Attica* to live together in *Athens*, the people

* Τρυγωδία, ſic dicta, *ἀπὸ τῆς τρύγης, vindemia*; vel *παρὰ τὴν τρύγα*, quod fœcibus ora oblinerent. *Athen*. Lib. 2. Hinc. Τρυγωδέω, *convicior, ſcurriliter illudo*.

carried

carried this ceremony thither with them, and began to celebrate it in the city, near the temple of *Bacchus*. In time their best Poets became concerned on this occasion, and by their compositions in honour of *Bacchus*, disputed the prize of Poetry. Afterwards it was celebrated by a large chorus of musicians with songs and dances, and the execution of the solemnity was removed from the Temple of *Bacchus* to the *Forum*, but the God had the Goat still sacrificed to him; and now the hymn began to be more particularly distinguished at *Athens* by the name of *Tragedy*. The like ceremony, but more grosly executed, continued to be observed in the country villages, whence it derived the name of *Comedy*, which signifies a village song. Thus began the distinction of the two Poems, that at first were one and the same thing, from the different places where they were executed. This Account is agreeable to what *Plutarch*, *Athenæus*, *Donatus*, and others give of this matter.

We have seen how the *Greek* Drama is founded on the feast of *Bacchus*. Before we proceed to enquire into the several steps of its improvement, the following plain and elegant account of that rural solemnity from *Tibullus*, will agreeably confirm what has been said above of its rude beginning.

*Agricola assiduo primum lassatus aratro*
*Cantavit certo rustica verba pede,*
*Et satur arenti primum est modulatus avena*
*Carmen, ut ornatos duceret ante Deos.*
*Agricola & minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti*
*Primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros.*

Lib. I. El. I.

The chearful clowns from labour free rehearse
Their aukward songs in rude unpolish'd verse;
In honour of their Gods with chaplets crown'd,
From ill-tun'd pipes the hollow notes resound.
With belly full, and face besmear'd with red,
These artless husbandmen their chorus led.

IT is natural to ſuppoſe that the genius of ſome of theſe country fellows, thus merrily aſſembled, might prompt them to give a little turn and harmony to their extempore ſong; which being reliſhed by the company, others might thereby be induced to attempt the ſame at the next feſtival. Thus they began to ſtudy the graces of language on theſe occaſions, which muſt inſenſibly acquire ſome ornaments that diſtinguiſhed it from the common manner. He that accompanied the ſong with his pipe, may be ſuppoſed to have endeavoured to excel in proportion as his diligence was applauded. The merriment concluded with dancing, and jeſting on each other. When this practice of the country had been carried, as has been ſaid, to *Athens*, there aroſe ſome perſons, though as yet hardly known by the name of Poets, who undertook to compoſe proper hymns for the ſolemnity. After this they added ſome ſatirical ſtories, which they rehearſed themſelves to divert the people. This might give riſe to what was afterwards called the *Satirica Poeſis* of the *Greeks.*

THE *Dionyſia* or feaſts of *Bacchus* were celebrated at *Athens* three times a year, which anſwer to our *March*, *April*, and *January*; and the *Panathenaics* in *Auguſt*. It was at theſe ſeaſons that Plays were acted.

*Theſpis*, who flouriſhed in the 61ſt Olympiad, about 530 years before Chriſt, was the firſt that attempted a farther improvement: He made up a kind of company, whom he choſe out of the chorus, and taught them to act on a ſtage; though his was nothing but a cart, with which he and his company went about from one village to another. The entertainment was partly the rehearſal of ſome remarkable adventure of one of their heroes, to which was added a pleaſant ridicule on ſome of the company. The whole at firſt ſeemed only deſigned to relieve the chorus, who were tired inceſſantly with ſinging the praiſes of *Bacchus* and *Ceres*. *Theſpis* finding his contrivance ſucceed beyond expectation, poliſhed his dialogue,

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ſo that ſome of his laſt pieces are ſaid to have been tolerably dramatical: that and the farcical entertainment that was added to it, met with ſuch applauſe wherever he went, that *Solon* thought fit to reſtrain him by law, as fearing it might tend to debauch the people's minds, and divert them too much from their uſual labours. It ſeems probable, that *Theſpis* was for exhibiting his medleys at all times, which the magiſtrate prudently thought fit to confine to certain ſeaſons. However, this gave a check to that progreſs *Theſpis* might otherwiſe have made in improving the Drama; which, tho' he had made very conſiderable advances, wanted many eſſential improvements. One perſon ſeems to have ſpoke ſeveral parts in his pieces: and thus we find among the *Romans* at firſt, that *Livius Andronicus* acted his pieces alone. But ſtill *Theſpis* has the honour to be counted the father of the *Greek* Tragedy.

> *Ignotum Tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camœnæ*
> *Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis,*
> *Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.*
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> Hor. de Arte Poet.

*Theſpis* therefore added three things to Tragedy; the Dialogue, that was compoſed on ſome heroic ſubject, and declaimed by an actor diſtinct from the chorus; the daubing the faces of his actors with the lees of wine for a diſguiſe; and 3dly, the uſe of the cart, by way of ſtage, to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate them the better from his audience.

*Æſchylus*, who made a farther progreſs in improving Tragedy, was born in the 4th year of the 63d Olympiad. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour in the battles of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, and *Platææ*; but his genius to Poetry gave him a much greater reputation. *Pauſanias* ſays, (in *Atticis*) that while *Æſchylus* was yet a youth, *Bacchus* had warned him in a dream to write Tragedies. He had formed his genius by the ſtudy of philoſophy and reading *Homer*'s works, which the *Greeks* now began to conſider as the

the beſt foundation both of Tragedy and Comedy. *Æſchylus* laid aſide the old raillery and buffoon ſtile, formed his ſubject upon a regular plan, to which he made the dances of his chorus ſubſervient (*Athenæus*, Lib. 1. *Deipnoſophiſt.*) which now became regular actors, and added another interlocutor to the one *Theſpis* had introduced. The magiſtrates ſoon became ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of theſe improvements, and granted him all neceſſary privileges and encouragement. Part of the public money that was applied for exhibiting the public games, began to be appropriated to the decorations of the Theatre: And about this time *Agatharcus*, a ſkilful architect, by the direction of *Æſchylus* applied himſelf to make many theatrical improvements, in the ſcenes, *&c.* of which he afterwards publiſhed a treatiſe (*Vitruvius*, L. 7. Præf.) *Æſchylus* was the firſt who found out the true ſtile of Tragedy, which according to * *Quintilian*, *Inſt.* Lib. 10. Cap. 1. he ſometimes affected to a fault; and ſo much did the *Athenians* honour his memory and eſteem his writings, that afterwards they by a public decree gave the poets leave to reviſe his pieces, which often wanted poliſhing and a greater correctneſs of ſtile, and then to bring them on the ſtage; ſo that he gained the prize of Poetry again many years after his death: And, it was cuſtomary for boys to come with branches of myrtle in their hands, and repeat his verſes at their moſt elegant entertainments: and *Ptolomy Euergtes* gave the *Athenians* fifteen talents for the original copy of his works, for which we have no leſs authority than *Galen*'s. *Æſchylus* is ſaid to have been ſo very pathetic and ſucceſsful in painting diſtreſs, that he never failed making his audience ſhare the grief he repreſented. But his machinery was ſometimes rather too violent; as when in his *Eumenides*, to the great terror of the

* *Tragœdias primum in lucem Æſchylus protulit, ſublimis & gravis, & grandiloquus ſæpe ad vitium, propter quod correctas ejus fabulas in certamen deferre poſterioribus Poetis Athenienſes permiſêre, ſuntque eo modo multi coronati.*

female

female part of his audience, he filled the ſtage with a chorus of fifty furies: this was found ſo dreadful, that from that time forward the number of the chorus was not allowed to exceed fifteen. He alſo maſked his actors, dreſſed them in a long flowing garment, and taught them to walk in the buſkin, that they might perſonate the characters of heroes with more decency. *Horace* takes notice of moſt of theſe circumſtances.

*Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ*
*Æſchylus, & modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis,*
*Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique Cothurno.*

De Arte Poet.

According to *Plutarch*, *Æſchylus* uſed to animate his vein with wine, before he ſate down to compoſe. He died in the 60th year of his age, the 4th year of the 78th Olympiad, from the building of *Rome* 281, before *Chriſt* 463.

*Sophocles* was born the ſecond year of the 71ſt Olympiad, 492 before Chriſt. He, in conjunction with *Euripides*, brought Tragedy to its perfection in *Greece*; added a third, and ſometimes a fourth interlocutor, in the dialogue, and left nothing to be deſired either in the ſtile, the ſentiments, character, or diſpoſition of the ſubject. He likewiſe introduced the cuſtom of oppoſing one Tragedy to another, in the contention for the prize, whereas before there were either three called *Trilogia*, or four *Tetralogia*, the 4th being a ſatirical piece. When he was 65 years of age, he commanded ſome forces jointly with *Pericles*. The Poets uſed themſelves to teach their actors to declaim their parts, but his voice was ſo weak, he was forced to get others to inſtruct them. He lived to 90 years of age.

*Euripides* was born the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad. * *Quintilian* ſeems to refer him to *Sophocles*, and



* *Is, in ſermone (quod ipſum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas & cothurnus & ſonus Sophoclis videtur eſſe ſublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi; & ſententijs denſus, & in iis quæ a ſapientibus tradita*

and particularly obſerves, that *Menander* ſtudied and imitated him. He was called the Philoſopher of the Poets; and his intimacy with *Socrates* was ſo great, that it was commonly reported, that Philoſopher aſſiſted him in writing his Tragedies. *Euripides* died the ſame year with *Sophocles*, being 75 years old. But I need not dwell on the merit of theſe two celebrated Poets, whoſe works were the models of all the Tragic writers after them, both *Greeks* and *Romans*.

LET us now take a ſhort view of the degrees by which Comedy was improved. It lay for ſome time confounded with the old chorus and village medley, 'till, when *Æſchylus* had made ſuch great improvements in Tragedy, ſome Poets began to conceive, that, by imitating his conduct, they might make Comedy a regular work diſtinct from the Chorus of *Bacchus*; which they afterwards laid aſide, not adapting it to their Poem, as had been done in Tragedy. But we find ſome very whimſical chorus's in *Ariſtophanes*'s Comedies, as of clouds, frogs, *&c.* In *Ariſtotle*'s time, Comedy was not yet perfect: *Menander* introduced the new Comedy ſome years after his death

AFTER *Lyſander* had taken *Athens*, he ſet up the government of the thirty Tyrants there; and 'till then the old Comedy had continued. The ſubjects of theſe Comedies were often not feigned but real, at leaſt the principal circumſtances were ſo: the whole being a ſevere and ingenious invective, and ſatyrical repreſentation of the vices of the greateſt men in the ſtate, whoſe very names the poets had the courage to mention. That this liberty might be abuſed, appears from what *Socrates* ſuffered by the ſcurrilous wit of *Ariſtophanes*; and the noble patience of the Philoſopher on this occaſion, is very well known. The actors

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*tradita ſunt, pene ipſis par, & in dicendo ac reſpondendo cuilibet eorum, qui fuerunt in foro diſerti, comparandus: in affectibus vero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miſeratione conſtant facile præcipuus. Hunc & admiratus maxime eſt, ut ſæpe teſtatur, & ſecutus, quanquam in opere diverſo. Menander*, Inſt. Lib. 5, cap. 1.

maſks imitated mens countenances to the life. Yet ſo ſtrongly were the old *Athenians* poſſeſſed with the generous loye of liberty, that nothing but tyranny attempted to reſtrain this extraordinary liberty of the ſtage: perhaps it might occaſionally prove a good curb on the conduct of their great men, ſince it is otherwiſe unaccountable how ſo polite and wiſe a people ſhould have endured it ſo long. But it ſoon diſpleaſed the thirty Tyrants, whoſe conduct could not bear examination, and would endure no cenſure. *Lamachus* one of them, made a ſevere Decree, that forbid the Actors naming perſons on the ſtage. This put the Poets under a neceſſity of uſing feigned names: but ſtill the characters of the perſons pointed at were ſo well drawn, that it was impoſſible for ſo intelligent an audience to miſtake them; and this was called the middle Comedy. It flouriſhed 'till *Alexander* the Great; who, having overthrown the united forces of *Greece* at the battle of *Cheronea*, and by the terror of the deſtruction of *Thebes*, forced the *Greeks* to ſubmit to his yoke, commanded that the liberties the Poets took, ſhould be farther reſtrained. It ſeemed as if that proud ſon of *Ammon* feared the Wit of a people, whoſe arms he deſpiſed. Upon this order aroſe the new Comedy, which now became a general imitation of common life. *Menander*, *Terence*'s model, brought it to the higheſt perfection it was thought capable of receiving. Four of *Terence*'s Plays are confeſſed tranſlations from him, and ſo are ſome of *Plautus*'s: and the greateſt *Roman* in arts and arms allowed the *African* but half the genius of the *Greek*. We have only a few fragments remaining of the many excellent pieces *Menander* wrote, which are reckon'd to have amounted to 109 in all. The loſs of them is one of thoſe injuries, which time and the barbarous nations, if not rather the fooliſh bigottry of Monks, has done the commonwealth of learning.

We have already ſaid ſomething of the ſatyrical pieces. *Pratinas* was the firſt, who made any ſucceſsful attempts this way: he flouriſh'd about the 70th Olympiad. We may here take occaſion to obſerve, that dur-

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ring the feaſt of *Bacchus*, the Poets uſed to exhibit four dramatic pieces the ſame day, and on the ſame ſubject; as the adventures of *Ulyſſes*, the anger of *Achilles*, &c. The laſt of the four was a ſatyrical piece. This cuſtom, as we have obſerved, continued 'till *Sophocles* got it altered.

THUS have we taken a ſummary view of the riſe and progreſs of the *Greek* Stage. The *Roman*, which is more immediately the ſubject of our preſent enquiry, comes next to be conſidered.

## SECT. II.

## *Of the* ROMAN DRAMA.

THE occaſion that introduced ſcenic games among that grave people, *Livy* has related to the following purpoſe.

THE city being ſorely afflicted with the plague, after having conſulted the ſacred books, the ſenate decreed, that * Players ſhould be ſent for out of *Tuſcany*; and upon this account Scenic Games were firſt exhibited at *Rome*, after ſeveral other vain attempts to appeaſe the anger of the Gods, and leſſen the violence of the ſickneſs. This happened in the year of *Rome* 392, above a hundred years before *Livius Andronicus* brought a regular Play on the ſtage, in imitation of the *Greeks*, whoſe Theatre had already attained its greateſt perfection. † *Livy* goes on to obſerve, that 'till this time, 392, the *Romans* had no other diverſions, but the ſhews and exerciſes of the *Circus*. That warlike People had as yet found no leiſure to think of the more refined diverſions of the mind. Theſe *Tuſcan*

* They were only Dancers on a Stage.

† *T. Sulpicio Petico, C. Licione Stolone Conſulibus, peſtilentia fuit: eo nihil dignum memoria actum, niſi quod pacis Deûm expoſcendæ cauſa tertio tum poſt conditam urbem Lectiſternium fuit: & cum vis morbi nec humanis conſiliis, nec ope divinâ levaretur, victis ſuperſtitione animis, Ludi quoque ſcenici nova res bellicoſo populo, nam circi modo ſpectaculum fuerat; inter alia cœleſtis iræ placamina inſtituti dicuntur. Cæterum parva quoque, ut principia fermè omnia, & ea ipſa peregrina res fuit: Sine carmine ullo, ſine imitandorum*

*Tuſcan* actors (continues the Hiſtorian) at firſt only danced to the flute, after their own country manner. Afterwards the *Roman* youth began to imitate them, making extempore verſes at the ſame time, in which they attempted, though groſly enough at firſt, to rally each other. In time too, they tried to adapt their motions to the cadence of their words. The thing took preſently, and by frequent practice received ſome farther improvement. Then there aroſe actors of their own, who compoſed a ſort of medley (*Satyras*) which was ſet to muſic, and acted in a proper manner with ſuitable motions, that kept time with the flutes, a rude kind of Recitativo. Some years afterwards, *L. Andronicus* ventured to repreſent a regular play after this medley, himſelf acting the Play, as all the Poets in thoſe early times did. Being often called upon by the audience to act ſome paſſages over a-

*imitandorum carminum actu Ludiones ex Hetruriâ acciti, ad Tibicinis modos ſaltantes, haud indecoros motus, more Thuſco dabant. Imitari deinde eos juventus, ſimul inconditis inter ſe jocularia fundentes, verſibus cœpere: nec abſoni à voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res, ſæpiùs uſurpando excitata, vernaculis Artificibus, quia* hiſter *Thuſco verbo Ludio vocabatur, nomen hiſtrionibus inditum: qui non ſicut ante Feſcennino verſu ſimilem incompoſitum temerè ac rudem alternis jaciebant; ſed impletas modis Satiras, deſcripto jam ad Tibicinem cantu, motuque congruenti peragebant.* Livius *poſt aliquot annos, qui ab Satiris auſus eſt primus argumento fabulam ſerere, idem ſcilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, ſuorum carminum actor, dicitur, cùm ſæpius revocatus vocem obtudiſſet, venâ petitâ puerum ad canendum ante Tibicinem cùm ſtatuiſſet, canticum egiſſe aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis uſus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari Hiſtrionibus cœptum, diverbiaque tantum ipſorum voci relicta. Poſtquam lege hâc fabularum ab riſu ac ſoluto joco res avocabatur, & ludus in artem paulatim verterat, juventus, hiſtrionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipſa inter ſe, more antiquo, ridicula intexta verſibus jactitare cœpit, quæ inde Exodia poſtea appellata; conſertaque fabellis potiſſimum Atellanis ſunt. Quod genus ludorum, ab Oſcis acceptum, tenuit juventus; nec ab hiſtrionibus pollui paſſa eſt. Eo inſtitutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec triba moveantur, & ſtipendia, tanquam expertes artis ludicræ faciant. Inter aliarum parva principia rerum, ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda viſa eſt, ut appareret, quàm ab ſano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem inſaniam venerit.* Decad. 1. L. 7.

gain,

gain, and his voice growing hoarſe by it, he begged leave of the audience to introduce a boy inſtructed for the purpoſe to rehearſe or ſing the words to the flute. This was a relief to *Andronicus*, who hereupon acted with more life and vigour; the actor having now only the dialogue part to declaim. We ſhall explain this part of the relation in the ſequel of this eſſay.

By theſe and other regulations, of which we do not know the particulars, Stage-Plays became the object of a particular art; and the *Roman* youth leaving them (continues *Livy*) to the Poets and Players, continued to act the former medleys themſelves, which were afterwards called *Exodia*, from their being acted at the end of the *Atellane* Plays. Theſe Plays the *Romans* firſt learnt from the *Oſci*, or antient *Tuſcans*, and never admitted the Players to act a part in them. And from thence came this cuſtom, which afterwards obtained the force of a Law, that the actors of thoſe Plays called *Attellane*, were never degraded from their tribe, as other common Players, but were admitted to ſerve in the wars, as if they had never acted on the ſtage. *Livy* concludes this curious account with the following judicious reflection. "I was "willing to give the public an account of the firſt ori-"ginal of Scenic Games, that we may obſerve to "what an intolerable degree of extravagance they are "now brought, ſo as to become burthenſome even to "the richeſt ſtates; and this from ſo ſober and religi-"ous a beginning."

THE *Roman* Dramatic Poetry was at firſt divided into three ſorts, ſome of which they afterwards ſubdivided into diſtinct ſpecies. The three ſorts were Tragedy, Comedy, and the Atellane pieces. Their Tragedy was either *Palliata*; ſo called from the *Greek* habit *Pallium*, which the actors wore, the characters being *Greek*; or *Prætextata*, from the *Prætexta*, the habit of the *Roman* Noblemen, in which the characters were *Roman*. So *Horace*,

*Vel qui Prætextas, vel qui docuere Togatas*;

Speaking of a *Roman* Tragedy and Comedy. The *To-*

*gata*

*gata* was their ſerious and genteel Comedy, the characters being drawn from perſons of good rank, whence it has been ſometimes called *Prætextata* as well as their Tragedy. The *Toga* was the *Roman* Gown. Hence *Virgil.*

*Romanos rerum Dominos Gentemque Togatam.*

The *Tabernaria* or low Comedy, was ſo called from *Taberna* that properly ſignifies a ſhop, thereby implying, that the characters were drawn from low life; therefore the Poet to ſay he would not publiſh his works declares, they ſhall be found in no ſhop and on no ſhew-board,

*Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos.*

The * *Atellanæ Fabulæ,* ſeem to have been a mixture

* It is an obſcure point of Criticiſm to determine juſtly, whether the *Romans* had Satirical Pieces, *Satiri,* as *Horace* calls them; or whether they altered their *Atellane* Plays, and made them in imitation of the *Greek* Satires. The latter is the opinion of *Diomedes* the Grammarian: His words follow, *Tertia eſt ſpecies Fabularum Latinarum, quæ à civitate Oſcorum Atella, in primum cœptæ, Atellanæ dictæ ſunt, Argumentis dictiſque jocularibus ſimiles Fabulis Græcis Satyricis.* There is a third ſpecies of *Roman* Comedy called *Atellane,* from *Atella,* a town in *Tuſcany,* where they firſt began to be acted, and which in their ſubject and pleaſantry of wit and humour are like the *Greek* ſatirical Plays. The only difference (adds the Critick) is this, that in the *Greek* Pieces were Satires or other buffoon characters, whereas in the *Atellanes* there was ſome lewd character, *Perſona obſcœnæ. Voſſius* corrects this reading, and ſays it ſhould be read, *Perſonæ Oſcæ, Tuſcan* Characters; which I am the more inclinable to admit, becauſe theſe obſcene characters are ſaid to have been more peculiar to the *Mimes.* But as one cannot imagine *Horace* would give rules for the Satires, if the *Romans* had none, we can have no other way to reconcile him with *Diomedes,* than by ſaying, that the *Romans* in time laid aſide their *Tuſcan* characters to introduce Satires in their *Atellane* Plays; which therefore muſt be conſidered as Tragi-Comedies, and not as Farces, an error *Horace* cautions againſt at large in his Art of Poetry. It is then to be ſuppoſed that like the *Greek* ſatirical Plays they were compoſed on the ſame ſubject with a Tragedy, after which they might be acted. And this is particularly agreeable to the precepts which *Horace* gives the writer of Satires. Some of thoſe writers ſeemed to have miſtaken the true character of this Poem, and to have confounded all rules of decency,

ture of Tragedy and Comedy, not unlike the *Greek* Satires: The Actors (as has been already hinted) were generally young gentlemen, who often took the liberty to retrench or add to their parts during the reprefentation, juft what they thought fit: Tho' perhaps this liberty may more properly be fuppofed to have been taken in the *Exodia* or Farces that were always acted after thefe Atellane Plays. Befides other privileges which *Livy* has mentioned, in the paffage above quoted, we may add this; that the audience could not oblige them to unmafk, an affront which was often put upon the other actors, though never fo confiderable. So we find *Laberius* a *Roman* Knight, a celebrated writer of Mimes (which were the loweft of dramatic entertainments, and wherein there feems to have been but one actor, who was generally the Author himfelf) was forced to unmafk, and complains very handfomely of the affronts done him by *Cæfar*, who ow'd him a grudge for his bitter railleries againft him.

decency, by a prepofterous mixture of gravity and low ridicule in the characters, by making the Heroe, who in the Tragedy had appeared with all the dignity becoming his character, in the *Atellane* fall into the low humour and ftile of the *Tabernariæ*; that fort of Comedy, whofe characters were all low and ridiculous. By thus fuppofing the *Atellane* Plays and Satires in *Horace*'s Art of Poetry to be the fame thing, it may eafily be prefumed that the dignity of the Actors added to the great antiquity of this kind of Dramatic Poem, might make a man of *Horace*'s fine tafte, who ftudied fo much to improve that of his Countrymen, think it worth his care to reduce this entertainment to a more elegant regularity than what had been practifed before. There is a paffage in *Cicero*'s epiftle to *Pœtus*, which fhews, that in his time the Poets were apt to make the *Atellanes* degenerate into *Mimes*, by introducing obfcene characters in them; which is one of thofe faults *Horace* would have his writer of Satires avoid; *Nunc venio* (fays *Cicero*) *ad jocationes tuas: quum te fecundum Oenomaum Accii, non ut olim folebat, Atellanum, fed ut nunc fit, Mimum introduxifti.* I come now to your raillery, where after having cited the *Oenomaus*, "A Tragedy of the Poet *Accius*, "you have made, not a true Atellane, as was formerly the cuf-"tom, but a perfect Mime, according to the common Practice "now-a-days." The *Atellanes* had a Chorus, which was what farther diftinguifhed them from Comedies, and feems to argue their being like the *Greek* fatirical piece.

him. This actor was so slightly shod as to appear almost bare-foot: hence he was called *Planipes*. The word *Mimi* comes from the *Greek* Μιμεῖσθαι to imitate. There was another species of actors, who performed all in dumb shew: They were called *Pantomimes*. They were so excellent in their action, that they could represent entire Comedies and Tragedies, and were particularly in vogue under the twelve *Cæsars*: They studied the most lively expression of all the passions and sentiments by their gesticulation. *Bathyllus* and *Pilades* were two Pantomimes so highly considered in the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, that all *Rome* was divided into factions on their account. Upon complaint of this made to him, that Emperor sent for *Bathyllus*, and very much reproved him for being the occasion of such disturbances and divisions. The Player's answer spoke him a man of admirable sense, as well as great presence of mind: "Nothing could "happen better for *Cæsar*, than that the people "should always amuse themselves with the trifling "disputes of two Players." I leave the reader to make the application.

## SECT. III.

### *Of some Partisulars relating to the* DRAMA *of the Antients.*

THERE were some circumstances peculiar to the *Greek* and *Roman* Stage, which come next to be explained, *viz.*

1. The BUSKIN, *Cothurnus.*
2. The SOCK, *Soccus.*
3. The MASK, *Persona.*
4. The CHORUS.
5. The FLUTES.

THE Buskin and Sock were such eminent marks of distinction between Tragedy and Comedy, that by a metaphor they are frequently made to express by antient

antient Authors the ſublime and low ſtile in all other compoſitions.

THE Buſkin, *Cothurnus*, is thought to have been a high ſquare boot, which by raiſing the foot conſiderably, made the actors appear larger than the common ſize of men; ſuch as the heroes were ſuppoſed to have been of old time: Beſides their ſlow and ſolemn ſtep, made them tread in a manner ſuitable to the ſtate and ſolemnity of Tragedy.

THE Sock was a more ſlight and eaſy covering for the foot, and rather proper to women; ſo that their being worn by the men is thought to have denoted the inferiority of the characters in Comedy to thoſe in Tragedy: But I rather imagine, the lightneſs of theſe Socks might be the chief reaſon of their being uſed by the actors in Comedy.

THE * Maſk, *Perſona*, is very pertinently derived by *A. Gellius* from *perſonare* to ſound through, becauſe their make was ſo contrived as to aſſiſt the voice, and make it ſound with greater clearneſs and diſtinction. Madam *Dacier* was the firſt who obſerved in the draughts of a famous old manuſcript of *Terence*, that theatrical Maſks of the antients were not made like ours; for they had not only wide mouths, but came over the whole head, with a kind of peruke or hair faſtened to them, proper to the age and character of the perſon the actor repreſented. But as that learned Lady might have ſaid when ſhe quoted the Fable, we need not recur to theſe draughts for a proof of this, ſince we have the poſitive authority of *Phœdrus* for it. In the fable of the Fox and Maſque, he makes *Renard* exclaim, ſpeaking to the maſk, *O quanta ſpecies cerebrum non habet!* What a fine head you have without brains! Which words can with no propriety be ſaid of our common maſks †. And

* *Tully de Oratore* intimates, one could ſee the action of the very eyes diſtinctly through the maſk.

† See *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* Lib. 7. Cap. 53. where he ſpeaks of *M. Oſilius Hillarius* a famous Comedian at an entertainment he made

And if the masks of the antients had not covered the whole head, it would have been abſurd in *Phædrus* to alter *Æſop*'s manner, who relates the ſame of a carved head the Fox ſaw at a ſtatuary's. But that ingenious freed-man of *Auguſtus* was too judicious not to conſider what he did; and his alteration is certainly for the better, becauſe of the maſk's being hollow and having nothing within it, whereas the carved head was ſolid at leaſt, tho' it had no brains: And as the theatrical maſks were fitted up with great art to expreſs the countenance and humour of the perſons repreſented, this paſſage of *Phædrus* muſt be admitted as an unqueſtionable proof of that which the draughts above-mentioned very happily ſerve to confirm. The wide opening of the maſk at the mouth, not only aſſiſted the actor's voice, but according to the different manner of his ſtriking the lips and breath againſt a thicker or thinner plate of braſs, as the character to be repreſented required, enabled him very much to humour his voice agreeably to his ſubject: there being proper artiſts to inſtruct the young actor in this managment*. Such a ſtrength and good ma-

made on his Birth-day, dying ſuddenly as he was looking at the maſk he had that day worn, and which he ſet before him, and crowned with a garland. *Is cum populo admodum placuiſſet natali die ſuo, conviviumque haberet, edita cœna calidam in pultario popoſcit; ſimulque perſonam, ejus diei acceptam intuens, coronam e capite ſuo in eam tranſtulit; tali habitu rigens, nullo ſentiente donec accubantium proximus tepeſcere potionem admoneret.*

* *Quintilian* has obſerved, that the Actors had great variety of maſks, which they had often changed both in Tragedy and Comedy. *Inſt.* L. 1. C. 1. *Major in perſonis obſervatio eſt apud Comicos Tragicoſque, multis enim utuntur & variis.* And a little lower the ſame great Critic goes on to obſerve of the Maſks, *Itaque in iis, quæ ad ſcenam componantur fabulis, artifices pronunciandi a perſonis quoque affectus mutuantur, ut ſit Niobe in tragœdia triſtis, atrox Medea, attonitus Ajax, truculentus Hercules. In Comœdiis vero præter aliam obſervationem qua ſervi, lenones, paraſiti, ruſtici, milites, vetulæ, meritriculæ, ancillæ, ſenes auſteri ac mites, juvenes ſeveri ac luxurioſi, matronæ, puellæ inter ſe diſcernuntur; patet ille, cujus præcipuæ partes ſunt, quia interim concitatus, interim lenis eſt, altero, erecto, altero compoſito ſupercilio: Atque id oſtendere maxime Latinis actoribus moris eſt, cum iis quas agunt partibus congruat.* Cap. 1. Lib. 7.

nagement

nagement of the voice was highly neceſſary on the *Greek* and *Roman* Stages. We have already ſaid, their Plays were exhibited by the care of a proper magiſtrate, and their theatres were made to contain, not a ſmall audience, but the greater Part of the inhabitants: For their Plays were acted only occaſionally, at certain feaſts, or at the funerals of great men; when they were repreſented with ſuch circumſtances of grandeur and magnificence as almoſt exceed the imitation of the moſt powerful ſtates at preſent.

THE Ædileſhip was the firſt office of diſtinction among the *Romans*. This magiſtrate was ſurveyor of the publick buildings, and had the care of exhibiting at his own charge ſhews and games to the people. As this office paved the way to thoſe of the greateſt power, which were only to be obtained by the favour and votes of the People, it was always exerciſed in a very ſplendid and liberal manner. *Julius Cæſar*, by his profuſion and munificence when Ædile, wherein he ſpent almoſt his whole patrimony, ſeems to have beforehand, as it were, laid out for the Dictatorſhip. Under the Emperors, every thing of this kind was performed with yet more prodigality and pomp; ſo that the modern Stages cannot give us any tolerable idea of the antient Theatres. That of *Pompey* the Great, is ſaid to have had places for 80,000 men beſides the *Cavea*, or Pit, which was left for the vulgar to ſtand in, and in which at other times all kinds of Exerciſes were performed.

NOW if we conſider the extent of ſuch a Theatre, and the diſtance of the greater part of the audience from the ſtage, and that the antients acted always by day-light, the ſcene being always laid in the ſtreet, or ſome open portico, the uſe and expediency of their masks will evidently appear: for the natural features of the face at ſuch a diſtance, and without the help of falſe lights, could not appear diſtinguiſhable enough to expreſs, in that lively manner that the antients required, their ſeveral characters on the ſtage. Beſides, their extream nicety to adapt the maſks to

every ſeveral character, very much contributed to the entertainment of the audience; ſince hereby they could better imagine they ſaw the perſons repreſented in the play, than we can, who are ſtill apt to loſe the character in the player. Thus we think of *Booth* and *Wilks*, when we ſhould only conſider *Shakeſpeare's Henry* the VIIIth and VIth: not to mention this other diſadvantage of the ſame face appearing in the different characters of Prince and Pimp, Heroe and Villain, old and young. *Horace* makes *Æſchylus* the firſt inventer of maſks, but they received many improvements ſince.

THE Chorus is defined to be a company of actors, repreſenting ſuch an aſſembly of perſons as might properly be ſuppoſed preſent, where the affair is tranſacted.

THE *Greek* Dramatic Poets were exact obſervers of the Chorus in Tragedy: but it ſeems the Poets ſoon found it needleſs in Comedy; the few remaining *Latin* Tragedies that go under *Seneca*'s name, are moſt of them faulty in this reſpect, and one of them has no Chorus at all. *Horace* gives the following rules for the behaviour of the Chorus. They were ſometimes maids of honour, and ladies attending on princeſſes, courtiers, friends, Counſellors, &c. The Chorus likewiſe juſtified ſoliloquies, or rather made them not ſuch: and theſe ſoliloquies and the part of the Chorus we know were the nobleſt parts of the Poem. The *Choragus*, or chief of the Chorus, muſt be a very good Actor, his part was ſet to the fineſt muſic, which accompanied his Declamation. But let us ſee *Horace*'s rules.

*Actoris partes Chorus, officiumque virile*
*Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat Actus*
*Quod non propoſito conducat & hæreat apte.*
*Ille bonis faveatque & concilietur amicis,*
*Et regat iratos, & amet peccare timentes.*
*Ille dapes laudet menſæ brevis, ille ſalubrem*
*Juſtitiam, legeſque & apertis otia portis:*

*Ille*

*Ille tegat commissa: Deosque precetur & oret,*
*Ut redeat miseris, abeat Fortuna superbis.*
De Art. Poet.

THE meaning of this will best be understood in prose. "Let the Chorus act a part in the Play during the acts, and be considered only as one *Dramatis Persona*; and in the interlude say nothing "but what is agreeable to and connected with the "subject: Let it express great willingness to protect "the good, to maintain and support the interest of its "friends, to pacify those that are provoked to anger: "It must be full of love: to such as abhor and commit crimes, should recommend sobriety and temperance; and praise the excellent benefits that the "strict observation of justice bestows on mankind. "It must praise the happy attendants of peace and "quiet; inviolably keep the secrets that it is intrusted "with, and earnestly pray the Gods to recall their "blessings of prosperity and happiness from the "wicked, and mercifully to relieve the good that "labour under affliction and distress." Thus we see the Chorus was to be one continued lesson of the most sublime morality.

AT first Comedy had a Chorus as well as Tragedy, The licentiousness of its satire, and the bitterness of its raillery, seem to have been the occasion of its being forbid at *Athens*; I suppose about the time, when the old Comedy was laid aside. I have *Horace* for my Author.

——————Chorusque
*Turpiter obticuit, sublato jure nocendi.*

THE Flutes, *Tibiæ*, are generally reckoned one of the obscurest points of antiquity; and yet without some idea of their use, the very titles of *Terence*'s Plays are not to be understood. *Horace* only says, that during the simplicity of the earliest times, the Flutes gave a slender sound, having but few holes; but that the luxury of his age had so increased the number of them, that it rival'd the trumpet's sound;

and

and that the ſtringed inſtruments, *Fides*, had been improved much after the ſame manner.

*Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta, tubæque*
*Æmula, ſed tenuis, ſimplexque foramine pauco.*
*Aſpirare & adeſſe choris erat utilis, atque*
*Nondum ſpiſſa nimis complere ſedilia flatu.*
*Quo ſane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,*
*Et frugi, caſtuſque, verecunduſque coibat.*
*Poſtquam cœpit agros extendere victor, & urbem*
*Latior amplecti murus: vinoque diurno*
*Placari Genius feſtis impune diebus,*
*Acceſſit numeriſque modiſque licentia major.*
*Indoctus quid enim ſaperet, liberque laborum*
*Ruſticus, urbano confuſus, turpis honeſto?*
*Sic priſcæ motumque & luxuriam addidit arti*
*Tibicen, traxitque vagus per pulpita veſtem.*
*Sic etiam fidibus voces crevere ſeveris.*

SOME Commentators underſtand what is ſaid in the laſt line, as meant only of the *Greek* Tragedies; but it is abſurd to think *Horace* would mention it here, if he did not likewiſe mean it of the *Roman* Tragedies, which were accompanied ſometimes by ſtringed as well as wind inſtruments. *Dio* expreſly ſays, that *Nero* played on the harp in ſome Tragedies, and does not mention it as any innovation made by that prince in the muſic of Tragedy. It is notorious how that Emperor affected to excel in the execution of all the parts of a Muſician, an Actor, and Poet.

INSTEAD of giving the Reader Madam *Dacier*'s account of theſe flutes, which ſeems hardly intelligible, tho' it is counted the beſt we have had yet, let us try by a paſſage from *Donatus*, and another from *Diomedes*, if we ſhall be more ſucceſsful in clearing this matter. *Donatus*'s words follow from his fragment of Tragedy, &c. *Diverbia hiſtriones pronunciabant, Cantica vero temperabantur modis non a poëta ſed a perito artis muſicæ factis. Neque enim omnia iiſdem modis in uno cantico agebantur, ſed*

*ſæpe mutatis, ut ſignificant, qui tres numeros in Comediis ponunt, qui tres continent mutatos modos cantici illius. Qui hujuſcemodi modos faciebant, nomen in principio fabulæ ſcriptoris & actoris ſuperponebant. Hujuſmodi adeo carmina ad tibias fiebant, ut his auditis, multi ex populo ante diſcerent quam fabulam acturi ſcenici eſſent, quàm omnino ſpectatoribus ipſis antecedens titulus pronunciaretur. Agebantur autem tibiis paribus aut imparibus, dextris aut ſiniſtris. Dextræ autem & Lydiæ ſua gravitate ſeriam Comœdiæ dictionem pronunciabant. Siniſtræ & ſarranæ acuminis levitate jocum in Comœdia oſtendebant. Ubi autem dextrâ & ſiniſtrâ acta fabula inſcribebatur, miſtim joci & gravitates denunciabantur.* Thus far the *Grammarian.* I ſhall have occaſion afterwards to conſider the former part of this paſſage, let us now particularly attend to what relates immediately to the Flutes. We find them here diſtinguiſhed into right and left-handed. The right, which he calls *Lydian,* had few holes, and ſent forth a low deep ſound, and therefore accompanied the ſerious parts of the Play, to which their tone was ſuited. The left, which he calls *Sarrane,* had more holes, and yielded a clear, ſhrill, and louder ſound, and were played upon during the more lively and pleaſant ſcenes of comedy. When the ſcene was partly ſerious and partly merry, the Muſicians plaid on both ſorts occaſionally, and then the play was ſaid to be acted *tibiis imparibus,* with unequal Flutes; that is, ſome right, and ſome left-handed. But if they us'd only right, or only left handed, it was then ſaid to be perform'd *tibiis paribus dextris, aut ſiniſtris.* Where the Numbers 1, 2, 3, are ſet to the titles of a Comedy, it denoted, that the Flutes were chang'd ſo often in the courſe of the play. This leads me to take notice of Madam *Dacier*'s miſtake, who notwithſtanding the clearneſs of what *Donatus* here ſays, thought the muſic was never chang'd during the courſe of the play's acting; and therefore being to account for the meaning of the words in the title of *Terence*'s plays,

plays, ſhe underſtood them to ſignify, that the play was acted with flutes not ſuited to the ſubject itſelf, but to the occaſion when the play was acted. For example, if a comedy was acted at the funeral games, then it would be accompanied with ſerious muſic; that is, right-handed Flutes, and ſo *vice verſa*. But ſuch a ſuppoſition is too abſurd to be admitted. For how can one bear to imagine one hears an arch fellow joking upon the ſtage, whilſt his declamation is accompanied by the heavy ſound of a deep-ton'd Flute? Or at other times, to hear a grave ſtory told, as one may ſay, to the tune of a *Scotch* jigg? But the Fact ſeems to be no more than this; that the Flutes were ſhifted with the ſcene, as in the *Heautontimorumenos*, or *Self Tormentor* of *Terence*, the melancholic ſcene between the two old fellows, which is the firſt in the play, was declaim'd, or acted with the grave, or right-handed Flutes, and other ſcenes that had a mixture of the ſerious and merry were accompanied by the right and left-handed Flutes together. This very obſervation will enable us to explain the title of the *Andrian*, which runs thus. *Acta Ludis Megalenſibus, M. Fulvio, M. Glabrione Ædilibus Curulibus, egerunt L. Ambivius Turpio, L. Attilius Præneſtinus. Modos fecit Flaccus Claudii, tibiis paribus dextris & ſiniſtris: & eſt tota Græca. Edita M. Marcello, C. Sulpicio Coſſ.* Here it is evident, that theſe words *Modos fecit Flaccus Claudii, tibiis paribus dextris & ſiniſtris*——make one ſenſe together, and can ſignify nothing elſe, but that *Flaccus*, the ſon of *Claudius*, had ſet the words of the *Andrian* to muſic, which was to be executed in ſome parts with right, and in others with left-handed Flutes. In the Life of *Terence* we ſhall take occaſion to explain the reſt of the title, which does not relate to the Flutes.

Diomedes the Grammarian mentions another diſtinction of Flutes, namely, that there was one ſort of them to accompany the chorus, and another the ſoliloquies; for ſo we ſhall find *Cantica* to ſignify. But this muſt chiefly relate to Tragedy, whoſe muſic

was more labour'd than that of Comedy. *Quando chorus canebat, choricis tibiis, id est choraulicis artifex concinebat: In Canticis autem Pythaules Pythicis responsabat.* This latter musician took great pains to excel in his art, striving to answer, that is, to equal the actor's voice, whom he accompanied: For so *responsabat*, a frequentative verb, must signify; and not that he answered the player, when he had done acting, by the music between the acts. I hope the attentive and learned reader will find this account of the Flutes more intelligible, when he has examin'd and compar'd it with the following account of the music of the antients, as far as it relates to the Drama.

## SECT. IV.

### *Of the* DRAMATIC MUSIC *of the Antients.*

WHAT is here said will be only historical, without pretending to any knowledge of this art in particular. However, something of this kind I thought might be expected, as necessary to clear up several difficulties, and seeming absurdities relating to the conduct of the Theatre of the Antients.

THEIR notion of music, as an Art, was infinitely more extensive than ours. For under this name they included the whole art of elocution and action as reducible to rules, and taught by method. Thus dancing, declaiming, and gesticulation, fell under the general head of music, as well as singing and music now properly so call'd.

THE saltation or dancing of the Antients was characterized, and not meerly composed, as ours, of motions form'd to give grace and freedom to the body. It comprehended all the art of gesture and theatrical action, which is rather executed by the face and hands, than the feet. The misunderstanding of this has occasion'd the wrong translations of many passages in antient Authors, who have taken the word

*Saltatio*

*Saltatio* in the ſenſe abovementioned. Nay, *Apuleius* (*Metamorph. L.* 10.) has gone ſo far, as to uſe the verb *ſaltare*, to ſignify the action of the eyes, which the antient orators very carefully ſtudied. Speaking of *Venus*, he ſays, *& non nunquam ſaltare ſolis oculis.* It is alſo uſed to ſignify acting a part in a play: As *Suetonius* ſays of *Caligula*; *Magno Tibiarum & ſcabellorum crepitu, cum palla tunicaque talari proſiluit, & deſaltato cantico abiit. Quintilian*, who is for ſending his young orator to the dancing-ſchool, to learn a juſt action, would have him, at the ſame time, avoid the declamatory tone of the player, and the action of the dancer: *Non Comœdum in pronunciatione, non Saltatorem in geſtu facio.* (*Inſt. L.* 1. *C.* 14.) The action he would recommend is, that which naturally fits and accompanies the words, not ſuch as are made to expreſs the thing ſignified by them; as the geſture repreſenting the action of a Phyſician feeling a pulſe, which is us'd to ſignify a ſick Perſon, &c. *Et ii quidem de quibus ſum locutus, cum ipſis vocibus naturaliter exeunt geſtus. Alii ſunt, qui res imitatione ſignificant, ut ſi ægrotum, tentantis venas Medici ſimilitudine oſtendas, quod geſtûs genus quàm longiſſime oratione fugiendum.* (*L.* 10. *C.* 3.)

THIS part of Muſic *Caſſiodorus* thus deſcribes. *Hanc partem Muſicæ diſciplinæ mutam majores nominaverunt, ſcilicet quæ ore clauſo manibus loquitur, & quibuſdam geſticulationibus facit intelligi, quod vix narrante lingua aut ſcripturæ textu poſſit agnoſci.* Thus we ſee their dancing ſignified the whole Art of geſture, either alone, as that of the *Pantomimi*, or accompanied with the declamation, as that of the players. My reaſon for taking ſuch particular notice of this is, becauſe we ſhall, upon a further examination, find, that the Plays of the Antients were acted almoſt in a kind of recitative, ſet to muſic; ſo that their Poets were obliged in the compoſition of their pieces, to ſet the proper accent over every ſyllable, which directed the actor how to utter his voice with the proper intonation; in the executing of

which, he was alſo further regulated by the Flutes that accompanied him. Something like this method is to this day obſerved by the *Jews* in the muſical accents that are ſet over the words in the Bible, by which, the People, who from their infancy are taught the uſe of them, chaunt the ſervice in the proper manner in their ſynagogues.

THE Antients divided their muſic into hypocritical and metrical. The hypocritical taught to follow the meaſure and time in acting; the metrical, to obſerve both in ſinging and declaiming. *Numeros muſice duplices habet* (ſays *Quintilian*) *in vocibus & in corpore.* Lib. 1. C. 10. It ſhould ſeem from another paſſage in the Rhetorician, that there was a particular perſon who beat time with his foot on the ſtage, and that the muſic regulated both the Actor and him that declaimed. *Atqui corporis motui ſua quædam tempora, & ad ſigna pedum non minus ſaltationi quam modulationibus adhibet ratio muſica numeros.* Lib. 11. C. ult. And to this purpoſe we find *Seneca* admiring that the actors could be ſo exact to adapt their motions ſo well to the time of the words and muſic. But this would not be half ſo extraordinary, if the ſame man was to execute both. *Mirari ſolemus Scenæ peritos, quod in omnem ſignificationem rerum & affectuum parata illorum eſt manus, & verborum velocitatem geſtus aſſequitur.* Epiſt. 121. But *Livy* in his account of the firſt inſtitution of Scenic Games, has expreſly mentioned this diviſion of the Action and Declamation. Let us again conſider that part of it, which mentions ſo extraordinary a particular. Speaking of *Livius Andronicus*, he ſays, *Idem ſcilicet quod omnes tunc erant, ſuorum carminum actor, dicitur, cum ſæpius revocatus vocem obtudiſſet, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante Tibicinem cum ſtatuiſſet, canticum egiſſe aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis uſus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari Hiſtrionibus cœptum, diverbiaque tantum ipſorum voci relicta.* The only difficulty of this paſſage conſiſts in the meaning of the words *Canticum & diverbia.*

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We find this removed by *Diomedes* the Grammarian, who explains them as follows. *Membra Comœdiarum tria ſunt, Diverbium, Canticum, & Chorus. Diverbia ſunt partes Comœdiarum, in quibus diverſorum perſonæ verſantur; in Canticis autem una tantum debet eſſe perſona, aut ſi duæ fuerint, ita debent eſſe, ut ex occulto una audiat & eloquatur, ſed ſecum ſi opus fuerit verba faciat.* Lib. 3. Cap. 4. Here it is plain, the Dialogue is called *Diverbia*, and the Monologue or Soliloquy *Canticum*; and that *Canticum* does not ſignify a Song, or the muſic between the intervals of the acts, as ſome commentators have abſurdly imagined. *Livy*'s words, *cantare ad manum*, directly intimate, that one comedian ſung to the other's hand, that is to his action. The actor, as we there find, was the principal comedian. The ſinger was a perſon inſtructed for the purpoſe, and as the Hiſtorian obſerves, placed in the back part of the ſtage juſt before the Muſician. *Macrobius* has a paſſage very much to our preſent purpoſe, by which we learn, that *Roſcius*, that celebrated comedian, chiefly excelled in this dumb action: for *Cicero* uſed to contend with this player, with whom he was very intimate, who could beſt expreſs any ſentiment or paſſion, the orator by his eloquence, or the comedian in his Action, *Et certe ſatis conſtat contendere eum cum Hiſtrione ſolitum, utrum ille ſæpius eandem ſententiam variis geſtibus efficeret* (I would read, *effingeret*) *an ipſe per eloquentiæ copiam ſermone diverſo pronunciaret.* SATURN. Lib 2. Cap. 10.

BUT as this circumſtance muſt appear ſtrange to us, notwithſtanding *Livy*'s authority, let us ſee if *V. Maximus*, who gives an account of the ſame thing, cannot convince us beyond all poſſibility of doubt. Speaking of *Livius Andronicus*, he ſays, *Is ſui operis actor, cum ſæpius a populo revocatus, vocem obtudiſſet, adhibito pueri & tibicinis concentu geſticulationem tacitus peragit.* (Lib. 2. Cap. 4.) That is, being the Actor of his own Play, and his voice growing hoarſe by the people's often recalling him to

act ſome parts over again, he made uſe of a boy or ſervant, who ſung or declaimed in concert with the flute, whilſt he himſelf ſilently acted his part, that is, executed all the geſticulations. And *Donatus*, as quoted in the laſt ſection, ſays, the comedians themſelves pronounced the dialogues, but the cantiques were ſet to muſic, modulated, not by the poet, but by ſome able muſician. Perhaps it may be meant here that the poet, who accented his play for the direction of the actor in his declamation, left the cantiques or monologues unnoted, which were ſet to muſic by ſome able maſter in the art. But the part of the ſinger or declaimer became afterwards ſo conſiderable, that ſomewhat before *Iſidore*'s time, about the 4th century, the Poets themſelves affected to pronounce or ſing the monologues, whilſt the player acted. *Ibi Poetæ, Comœdi & Tragœdi ad certamen deſcendebant, iiſque canentibus, alii geſtus edebant.* ORIGEN. Lib. I. Cap. 44. We may add another Paſſage from *Suetonius*, concerning *Caligula*, who was ſo paſſionately fond of acting and declaiming that he could not forbear at the public ſpectacles, pronouncing the part aloud with the declaimer, and acting along with the player, who executed the geſticulation. *Canendi ac ſaltandi voluptate ita efferebatur, ut ne publicis quidem ſpectaculis temperaret, quo minus & Tragœdo pronuntianti concineret, & geſtum hiſtrionis effingeret.* It is obſervable, that *Suetonius* here diſtinguiſhes the declaimer from the actor, and declaiming from acting. *Ovid* has alſo uſed the word *ſaltare* for acting, in anſwer to his friend's letter, who had ſent him word that his Tragedy named *Medea*, a Play much admired by the Antients, met with great approbation during the repreſentation: he ſays,

> *Carmina cum pleno ſaltari noſtra Theatro*
> *Verſibus & plaudi ſcribis, amice, meis.*
> De Ponto. Lib. 5. El. 7.

And *A. Gellius*, to intimate that long before his time the

the actor who declaimed, ufed alfo to act, has the fame phrafe. Thofe who now fing ftanding ftill, then danced as they fung. *Saltabundi autem canebant, quæ nunc ftantes canunt.* Lib. 20. Cap. 2.

THE fact being now fufficiently made out, I muft defire the reader to confider the three following circumftances relating to the Theatre of the Antients, which will leffen the feeming extravagance of their tafte in fuch a feparation.

THEIR theatre was infinitely larger than ours, and had not fo good a light; it being impoffible that the day-light only fhould give fo much light, at leaft fo advantageoufly to their ftage, as our illuminations do to our ftage: So that it feems reafonable to fuppofe the Antients could not fee their Actors fo nearly nor fo diftinctly as we fee ours.

THE fecond thing is, that their actors were mafked, and confequently one could not well perceive whether they fpoke or not. Thus the fpectator was not fo fenfible of the feeming abfurdity of two perfons appearing on the ftage: Befides the Declaimer, *Cantor*, ftood (as we have feen from *Livy*) juft before the mufician, towards the lower end of the theatre.

*Thirdly*, As the mafks of their Actors affifted and ftrengthened the voice, they muft at the fame time fo change the voice, as to make it not fo eafy to know, for inftance, whether *Micio* in the *Adelphi*, or Brothers of *Terence*, had the fame voice in the dialogue and monologue: And it is not improbable they might take care to chufe a Singer, *Cantor*, whofe voice would nearly refemble that of the actor.

THE conduct and writings of the *Romans* evidently prove them to have been as polite a people as they were brave, efpecially fince the deftruction of *Carthage*, and the conqueft of *Greece*. When they firft determined in favour of this divifion of the action and declamation in the cantiques, they had already the experience of an hundred and twenty years in the more fimple way, which they chofe to quit for

this more composite manner: From *Andronicus*'s first introducing it to the reign of *Honorius*, when it was still practised, they had had the experience of near seven hundred years, and yet found no reason to alter it. We should therefore mistrust our own jndgments a little, and not hastily condemn a practice that seems strange to us. Their great progress in all arts, poetry, painting, sculpture, oratory, architecture, &c. should prevail with us to think favourably of their judgment in this particular. Persons of the highest rank appeared on the *Greek* stage; and though the *Romans* were more reserved in this respect, we know that from their first condition of slaves, good actors have been able to raise themselves immense riches, and purchase their freedom during the commonwealth, and they grew much more considerable under the Emperors, when it became the general complaint, that players, freedmen, and such upstarts ran away with all honours and places of profit, and engrossed the prince's favour. One must never have read *Tacitus* and *Juvenal*, not to mention many other authors, to doubt the truth of what is here advanced. Let this teach us to suspend our censures, and to be not so ready to condemn every thing that is out of our own way of thinking and practice.

LET us now examine the notion of the antient Plays being noted, and partly set to music. The word *Carmen* properly signifies a Song or Poem set to music. So *Ovid*, above quoted, used it to mean his *Medea* a tragedy. And *Cicero*, speaking of a tragedy, says, *Præclarum Carmen, est enim rebus, verbis & modis lugubre*. (*Tuscul. Quæst*. L. 5.) *Rebus*, means the subject or composition of the fable; *verbis*, the expressions; *modis*, the music fitted to the words, or the words set to music. More could not be said of one of *Handel*'s Opera's if the poetical part of those compositions were equal to his excellent music.

WE have already seen *Livy*'s account, which is full to this purpose, and the Reader may turn to it again if he please.

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LET me obſerve in this place, that, if the critics, who condemn the Antients for the many ſoliloquies in their Plays, had known the reaſon for this practice of theirs, they would have with-held their cenſures. The continual preſence of the Chorus, we have before alledged as a ſufficient juſtification of ſoliloquies in tragedy, which thereby are rendered, indeed, not ſo. Another inducement to the frequent uſe of them, we find, muſt have been, to adorn the whole performance by the excellency of the Muſic which accompanied the more labour'd declamation of the ſoliloquies. *Cantica*, ſays *Diomedes*, *temperabantur modis, non a poeta, ſed a perito artis muſicæ factis.* The Poets did not ſet the *Cantics* themſelves to muſic, but employ'd ſome ſkilful artiſts to compoſe the muſic. It hence ſeems plain, the Poets noted the dialogue part themſelves, as coming within their ſphere, the muſic being here more ſimple, and low, and ſerving only, as it were, to aſſiſt the actor's voice, in the juſt expreſſion of the tones and accents, which in *Latin*, are ſaid to have been ten, according to *Priſcian*, of which he gave the marks, but that work of his is loſt. *Sergius*, the Grammarian, reckons eight only. *Tenores*, ſays he, *ſive accentus dicti ſunt, qui naturalem uniuſcujuſque ſermonis in vocem noſtræ elationis tenorem ſervant. Dictus autem accentus eſt, quaſi ad cantus; ſunt omnes Latini accentus octo. Quintilian* proves, that they who compos'd the muſic for the plays, did not barely compoſe the muſic to diſtinguiſh acts, as has been falſly imagin'd, but to accompany the declamation. * In thoſe plays that are compos'd for the ſtage, (that is, whoſe muſic is compoſed) the maſters of the art of declaiming have a ſtrict regard to every character. The *Latin* ſays, borrow the affections (that is, of their compoſition) from the maſks.

* *In iis quæ ad ſcenam componuntur fabulis, artifices pronunciandi a perſonis quoque affectus mutuantur.* *Inſt.* Orat. L. 11. C. 3.

I cannot but think it probable too, that the Poets in the order in which they placed their words, had ſome regard to the muſic that accompanied the declamation, and this more in the cantiques than the dialogues, more in tragedy than comedy. *Horace* blames this luxurious improvement of the numbers.

*Acceſſit numeriſque modiſque licentia major.*

The Poet would never put *numeri* and *modi* together, if they had not an immediate influence on each other. But I ſhould never have done, if I would go on with obſervations of this kind, that prove the Plays being acted to muſic among the Antients. But to return. *Lyrick* poetry alſo, which was allowed the greateſt variety of numbers, and the bold tranſpoſitions to be met with in the odes, both *Greek* and *Latin*, may reaſonably be thought, in a great meaſure, owing to the poet's ſkill in muſic. And * *Cicero* ſays to this purpoſe, of *Roſcius*, that this great maſter of action intended, as he grew in years, to make the muſicians ſoften their notes and ſlacken the compoſition of the Cantiques for the eaſe of his action: For the declamatory part, we find, was executed by another. And we have already ſeen, that *Roſcius*'s talent lay in dumb ſhew, and that he would often contend with *Cicero*, who could beſt expreſs a circumſtance, he, by the force of action, or *Cicero* by that of eloquence. † He elſewhere obſerves, that ſuch as had a little ſkill in muſic knew by the beginning of the ouverture what play was a going to be acted. This we can do at our Operas too, becauſe the muſic is part of the Drama. But at the play-houſe, no body knows by the firſt, ſecond, or third muſic, what play is to be acted, but by the bills; becauſe it is arbitrary, and has no relation to the play that is to follow.

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* *Solet idem Roſcius dicere, ſe, quo plus ſibi ætatis accederet, eo tibicinis modos, & cantus remiſſiores eſſe facturum,* De Oratore L. 1.

† *Quam multa, quæ nos fugiunt in cantu, exaudiunt in eo genere exercitati: Qui primo inflatu Tibicinis, Antiopam eſſe aiunt aut Andromacham, cum nos ne ſuſpicemur quidem.* Academ. Quæſt. L. 4.

follow. * In another place he remarks, That ſome verſes, even in tragedy, had ſuch bad numbers, that, but for their being ſet to muſic, (accompanied by the flute, in *Latin*) there would be no diſtinguiſhing them from Proſe. Theſe paſſages prove, that comedy and tragedy had their proper meaſures, tho' they were ſometimes too much neglected.

THIS may ſerve to juſtify *Horace* in cenſuring the negligence of *Plautus* in the metre of his verſes, but in what particulars this negligence moſt appear'd, and why, according to *Quintilian* trimeters were beſt, is hard to diſcover, unleſs we had a more particular knowledge of the manner of the Antients in noting and declaiming their comedies. But it is at the ſame time evident, that *Varro*, *Priſcian*, *Donatus*, *Aſper*, *Juba*, *Scaurus*, *Probus* and *Sulpitius*, all great grammarians, would never have applied themſelves to find out the metre of *Terence* and *Plautus*'s verſes, had they underſtood no more of it than our modern critics can. As theſe antient grammarians were all acquainted with muſic, which *Quintilian* lays down as a knowledge eſſentially neceſſay to the grammarian, they were able to find and reſtore the miſplacing of a word in a verſe much more readily by the help of the muſical intonation and accents. And yet if the matter was ſo obſcure in *Priſcian*'s time, that he ſays, there were ſeveral, who denied that *Terence* had any metre, and others pretended they alone had the ſecret key of them, and that none but themſelves could pretend to meaſure his verſes, it is a little hard to conceive how our critics, let them be perſons never ſo diſtinguiſhed by their learning and great abilities, can come nearer the truth than thoſe antient grammarians.

SOME indeed have had a conceit, that they ſhould ſooneſt attain to the truth, by taking it for granted that the comic Poets uſed thoſe meaſures that were moſt agreeable to the ſubject, as we find *Virgil* has

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* *Quæ, niſi cum Tibicen acceſſerit, ſunt orationi ſolutæ ſimillima.* De Orat.

very ſucceſsfully done in many places. But it has been obſerv'd by ſucceeding critics, that when they came to examine the Comedies of *Plautus* and *Terence* by this rule, it only ſerved to confound, and lead them into new intricacies.

Let it ſuffice us from ſuch imperfect notions as antiquity has left, to have proved the fact, both as to this and other particulars which we have had occaſion to take notice of under this head of the theatrical muſic of the Antients.

Such as are well acquainted with the ſtate of antient *Greece* and *Rome*, do not wonder at their elaborate ſtudy of every artifice capable of adding life and ornament to their declamation: The genius of the people eaſily moved by every paſſion, ſupported by a great vivacity and quickneſs of conception, as they continue to this day, though oppreſſed by ignorance, ſlavery, and ſuperſtition: This diſpoſition, I ſay, made eloquence lead the way to the higheſt honours; and even under the Emperors, the Sovereign ſtudied to recommend or palliate his conduct, by a graceful and eloquent manner of ſpeaking in publick: and it was no ſmall reproach even to *Nero*, that he was forced to employ others to compoſe his harangues for him. Eloquence in pleading at the bar was ſo faſhionable even in *Horace*'s time, that he mentions it as a becoming ornament in the character of a pretty fellow.

*Namque & nobilis & decens,*
*Et pro ſolicitis non tacitus reis,*
*Et centum Puer artium*
*Late ſigna feret militiæ tuæ.* Lib. 4. Od. 1.

## SECT. V.

### *Of Dramatic Fiction and Imitation.*

THE foundation of Dramatic Poetry is not barely imitation, which it has in common with all other kinds, but probable fiction, or a well-invented fable.

fable. I need not ſay much in juſtification of fiction: the beſt writers have often employed it to make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions, and to convey the moſt important truths. The *Greeks* always began the education of their children by it; their firſt theology and philoſophy was concealed under it. *Strabo* in his firſt book has a fine paſſage that makes to this purpoſe. "In the firſt place (ſays that judicious wri- "ter) Poets are not alone in the uſe of fables: "Critics and Lawgivers have done ſo long before "them, both for their uſefulneſs and in conformity "to the natural inclination of a rational creature. "Man is willing to learn, and fable opens him the "way. By this our children begin to hearken to "what we ſay; the reaſon of which is, that fable is "a kind of a new ſtory, not of what really is, but "of ſomething very different. Now nothing de- "lights the underſtanding more, than what is new "and ſtrange, and it is this makes us love the "ſciences. Therefore if you add the wonderful "and marvellous to fable, that infinitely increaſes "our delight, which is the firſt inducement to learn. "It is therefore highly proper to make uſe of fable, "to draw the tender minds of children to the love "of knowledge; and when they are more advanced "in years, and their underſtanding has gathered "ſtrength, ſo that there is no longer occaſion to "careſs and indulge them, then let them be intro- "duced into the real ſciences, and taught to know "things by what they are." Thus far *Strabo*.

It is certainly true, that the ſtrong propenſity to imitation, which nature has implanted in us, is the ſource of all ſtudy and application. This diſpoſition gives fiction, which is only a happy imitation of what might probably happen, a great advantage over truth itſelf, which being artleſs, and of ordinary occurrence, has leſs power to excite and keep up our attention. Beſides, in a juſt imitation one diſcovers that ſubtilty and addreſs in the contrivance, which by ſetting the mind upon making proper reflections, puts

puts it in the way to discover something new: And according to *Aristotle* (Rhet. Lib. 1. Cap. 11.) the pleasure we take in seeing a just imitation, does not arise from the beauty of the original imitated, but from the mind's thereby finding the means to reason and instruct itself agreeably. Hence some philosophers very justly argued against the Epicureans, when they maintained, that the pleasure people take at shews can arise neither from the sense of hearing nor seeing, but from the mind only, which understands and judges. An instance from painting will illustrate *Aristotle*'s position. Most grotesque figures, that please by their ridiculous deformity in a picture, would give disgust in the originals. So monsters, and other hideous shapes, that we can consider without emotion, upon the canvas, and in colours, would, if they were really present, fill us with horror and aversion. But to return to fiction.

As it is the soul of all Poetry, but particularly the dramatic and epic, so it is that which makes the most essential difference between the historian and the poet. *Aristotle* (*Poet. Cap.* 9.) seems to have established this truth. Should any one, says the Philosopher, put *Herodotus*'s history into verse, it would be but a history still. Here then is the difference. The historian describes what has happen'd, and the poet, what might, or ought to come to pass. So that poetry is more grave and moral than history, because the former says general things, and the latter only particulars. A general thing is what every man, of such a certain character, should probably say or do, &c. This is the very method which poetry follows, when it gives proper names to its characters. A particular thing is what *Alcibiades*, for instance, has actually said, or done, &c. This most evidently appears in comedy; (meaning the middle *Greek* comedy) for the comic poets having formed the plan of their subject agreeable to probability, impose what names they please afterwards upon their characters, not imitating the satirists, who apply them to particulars.

culars. It is true, the tragic poets often ufe real names; but the reafon is, becaufe what has happen'd muft be credible; however it is common for them to think one or two known names fufficient, and invent the reft. Nay, there are tragedies extant, where no part of the fubject is known; as the *Flower of* Agathon; in which play, all the names, as well as things, were of the poet's invention, and yet it met with general approbation. Befides, fuch fubjects as are known, are known but to few perfons, and yet when brought on the ftage, they divert all: So that it is manifeft, that a dramatic poet is more obliged to be the author of his fubject, than his verfes, fince he is a poet only by imitation. So far *Ariftotle* on this head. I think, the philofopher's words want no explanation, unlefs where he has faid, that dramatic poetry is more grave and philofophical than hiftory: And yet his proof is fufficient. For, as particular facts are the fubject of hiftory, it can never be fo well proportioned to the generality of Readers, as poetry, which treats of general matters. A man may read a whole hiftory through, without meeting with one occurrence to his particular purpofe, during the whole courfe of his life; and thofe whom it may feem to fuit in fome refpects, may live many years before they have occafion to put them in practice. Befides, facts never can inftruct us fo well as the knowledge of the caufes of thofe facts, which the hiftorian feldom does, and hardly ever can explain, as being, for the moft part, concealed from his knowledge: So that the beft he can do, is to give you his own conjectures. But the poet being the mafter of his fubject, advances nothing, of which he does not let you into the motive, explaining the caufes and effects of every the moft minute incident. Hiftory has only narration to recommend it to our obfervation. Dramatic poetry has all the advantages of action and reprefentation to enforce it. Every thing is animated in tragedy. All our fenfes and paffions are employed. But further; hiftory does not borrow the

the aſſiſtance of philoſophy, harmony and numbers, which poetry does to enliven and adorn it. If theſe reflections will not convince us, that *Ariſtotle* thoroughly underſtood the nature of theſe two arts, when he ſaid, That poetry was more moral than hiſtory, we may turn to *Horace*, who has ſaid more of epic poetry, giving it the preference to philoſophy for inſtruction. And yet epic poetry, as it has not the help of the ſtage, and does not raiſe the paſſions, is ſo far inferior, at leaſt of leſs power and efficacy than tragedy. But hear *Horace*.

*Trojani belli ſcriptorem, maxime Lolli,*
*Dum tu declamas* Romæ, *Præneſte relegi*;
*Qui quid ſit pulcrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,*
*Rectius & melius* Chryſippo & Crantore *dicit.*

Lib. 1. Epiſt. 2.

While you to plead at *Rome*, my friend, remain,
I here have read my *Homer* o'er again;
Who hath what's baſe, what decent, juſt and good,
Clearer than *Crantor* or *Chryſippus* ſhew'd.

*Creech.*

When *Homer* paints the anger of *Achilles*, it is with an intent to ſhew what violence and anger may make men of his character do and ſay. *Achilles* is a general and allegorical perſon in the Iliad. The ſame holds good of the heroes in tragedy. Even the old comedy was not altogether deficient in this reſpect. For inſtance, when *Ariſtophanes* names ſome of the perſons in his plays, *Socrates*, *Euripides*, *Cleon*, *Hyperbolus*, *Lamachus*, though they were real names, the ſubject was fictitious in the main, and to be conſidered as ſomething general. In like manner, when a tragic poet takes his ſubject from true hiſtory, it becomes general and allegorical, as well as that which is wholly fictitious, and of his own invention. A great reaſon that induces poets to give known and real names to their characters, is the better to perſuade the audience of the probability of the action. Beſides, they hence very often take occaſion to adapt ſome

of

of the real adventures of thoſe perſons to their fiction, and extract ſuch ingenious epiſodes from them, as very much heighten the probability of the whole, and make it ſometimes paſs with the audience for a true hiſtory.

## SECT. VI.

### *Of* TRAGEDY, *according to* ARISTOTLE.

HIS *Art of Poetry* is ſo celebrated a piece of criticiſm, that I thought to ſpeak of tragedy and comedy without taking notice of his account of them, would be looked upon as preſumption, though I doubt his conciſe and metaphyſical manner of treating the ſubject may not be agreeable to the generality of readers; they may paſs this Section over.

THE Philoſopher (*Cap.* 6. *Poet.*) defines Tragedy to be, The imitation of an important and compleat action, of a juſt extent with a ſuitable ſtile, properly varied in the ſeveral parts, which, without the help of narration (whereby it is chiefly diſtinguiſhed from an Epic Poem) by the means of terror and compaſſion, purges thoſe and all other the like paſſions in us.

BY a ſuitable ſtile he underſtands verſe, number, and harmony, and properly varied, refers to verſe being the principal in one part, and number and harmony in the other.

THIS imitation (ſays the Philoſopher) being made by ſuch as carry on an action, it neceſſarily follows, that the decorations of the ſcene are in ſome ſort a part of Tragedy, as well as the melody and diſcourſe with which the imitation is made. Diſcourſe is the compoſition of the verſes, and melody the muſic.

TRAGEDY therefore has theſe ſix parts; the Fable, the Manners, the Sentiments, the Language, the Muſic, and Decoration.

TRAGEDY is the imitation of ſome action, and they who do any action are neceſſarily what they are by their manners and ſentiments, which are the cauſes of men's happineſs or miſery. THE

THE imitation of an action is properly the Fable; by Fable is meant the compofition of matters.

THE Manners are that which points out the qualities of thofe who do an action, and the fentiments are the difcourfe, by which thofe perfons make any action known or whereby they difcover their thoughts. After having proved that the good conftitution of the Fable is principally to be confidered in Tragedy, our great critic proceeds thus.

THE Manners come next, with which it is, as in painting; for fhould a painter lay confufedly the fineft colours upon the canvas, it would not pleafe fo much as the out-lines or fketch of a picture. So as Tragedy is the imitation of fome action, it muft principally be the imitation of thofe who do the action.

*Ariftotle*'s meaning is, That if the characters are not well marked, fo that all that the perfons of the Drama fay or do be confiftent with the characters given them, the reft is only confufion, as not relating to or being contrary to the fubject; For the manners (continues the Philofopher) are that which difcovers the inclinations of him that fpeaks, and what meafures he intends to take on any occafion, where it would elfe be difficult to know them. So that all fuch difcourfe as does not immediately tend to unfold the defigns of him who fpeaks, are without the manners.

THE fentiments explain what is, or what is not; that is, difcover to us the thoughts of him who fpeaks.

THE fourth thing, which only regards the difcourfe, is the Diction, which is the explanation of things by words, and has the fame power in profe and verfe.

THE fifth is the Mufic, which is the greateft and moft agreeable ornament Tragedy can employ.

THE Decoration is the laft, but does not properly regard the Poet, nor make a part of Dramatic Poetry, but concerns other artifts.

I fhall not trouble the reader with a larger extract from *Ariftotle*'s Poetics; this may fuffice to give an idea of his method.

SECT.

## SECT VII.

### *Of the Meaſures of* DRAMATIC POETRY.

AS the mind of man is formed for imitation, it is alſo pleaſed with numbers and harmony. This taſte for harmony taught the *Greeks* to diſtinguiſh different meaſures for different kinds of Poetry. The Hexameter was found fit for Epic or Heroic Poetry; the Sapphic, Alcaic, Phaleucian, &c. for Lyric Poetry; and the Iambic for Tragedy. And though *Strabo* ſays, verſe was more ancient than proſe, among the *Greek* Writers, yet the appropriating certain meaſures to certain kinds of Poetry, was of a much later date. *Homer* ſeems to have been the firſt, who fixed the hexameter verſe for epic Poetry. *Ariſtotle* has obſerved, that his *Margites*, a comic Satire, which *Homer* compoſed before the *Iliad*, was an irregular mixture of ſeveral meaſures, poſſibly not unlike the old Saturnian verſes in uſe among the old *Roman* Poets before *Ennius*.

*Theſpis* among the other improvements he made in the infancy of the *Athenian* ſtage, choſe the Iambic meaſure as fitteſt for dialogue. The Tetrameter had been uſed in the old ſatirical pieces before. Comedy uſed the Iambic tremeter as well as tragedy, but not ſo ſtrictly, as running nearer to proſe: Nay trimeter itſelf was choſen for the ſame reaſon, as of all regular and meaſured verſe coming neareſt to the language of converſation. *Archilochus* a ſatiric Poet was the firſt inventer of the Iambic meaſure. *Horace* ſpeaks of it as follows.

*Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.*
*Hunc Socci cepere pedem grandeſque Cothurni;*
*Alternis aptum ſermonibus, & populares*
*Vincentem ſtrepitus & natum rebus agendis.*

De Arte Poet. ver. 79.

*Archilochus* firſt us'd Iambics keen,
As a fit meaſure to convey his ſpleen,

Both

Both Sock and Buskin since adopt this foot,
As sounding clearly through the people's shout,
And form'd dramatic Action well to execute.

*Aristotle* having observed how fit this measure is for the stage, by its coming so near to prose, adds, That the Hexameter verse was very seldom to be found in *Greek* prose, as the Iambic was; so that dramatic writers had good reason to prefer the Iambic to all other measures, as fittest for the stage.

## SECT. VIII.
## *Of COMEDY.*

ARISTOTLE (*Cap.* 5.) has said but little of Comedy; I shall therefore join some of my own observations with his concerning this branch of dramatic Poetry.

THE Philosopher's definition of Comedy is very short and obscure: he calls it, An imitation of bad men; but he explains himself, saying, That by bad men he means not persons guilty of all or the greatest vices, but such vices as are capable of ridicule. "Ridicule (says he) is properly a defect or deformity without pain, which does not tend to the destruction of the subject in which it exists: for instance, we call that a ridiculous countenance which is disagreeable and mishapen, without being painful to the person that is made ridiculous by it." Thus far *Aristotle*.

THE changes the *Greek* Comedy underwent in its infancy, have not been discovered to us so well as those of Tragedy; for it was late before the magistrate began to defray the charge of exhibiting Comedies. Those who acted them before were free and voluntary actors, who had no dependance upon, nor encouragement from the state.

THE contrary seems to have happened among the *Romans*, who I believe had their Atellane plays and

*Exodia*

*Exodia* or Farces acted almost to perfection, before Tragedy was much cultivated among them.

The first improvers of the *Greek* Comedy had nothing to do, but to borrow from Tragedy such theatrical ornaments as were proper to their subject and design; and this may be a reason why what was done by them in this part, has been so little taken notice of, whilst we have several particulars of such improvements of Tragedy.

*Epicharmus* and *Phormis* are said to be the first that laid aside the old satiric dialogue, to form a subject, and lay the plan of the old Comedy, which, though not properly of the Poet's invention, as exposing real characters and persons, was, however, fashioned and cast into what form the Poet judged fittest to cast a ridicule on his characters. Thus the *Athenians* were beholden to the *Sicilians* for the first plan of Comedy. *Crates*, an *Athenian*, took the hint, and composed several pieces with success. He flourished about the 82d *Olympiad*, near 45 years before *Aristophanes* published his first Comedy; and some of his last pieces come very near the regularity of the new Comedy. Thus we find Comedy attained not its perfection in so few years as Tragedy. *Aristophanes* began to flourish the 4th year of the 94th *Olympiad*: And *Menander* flourished the beginning of the 123d *Olympiad*, which is an interval of 72 years. *Epicharmus* was not many years after *Thespis*, though at first he applied himself to philosophy, and was an old man before he wrote any Comedies. He was born at *Coos*, but was brought into *Sicily* at three months old, which is the reason so many authors have thought him a *Sicilian*. *Hiero*, tyrant of *Sicily*, having forced him to quit the publick teaching of the *Pythagorean* philosophy, he first rehearsed on the stage some of the doctrines of his philosophy, which he couched in verse, and afterwards set himself to write Comedies, which he did to the number of 52, according to *Suidas*. *Meursius* has collected the titles of 40 of them; and there are some sentences out

of

of them extant among the fragments of the old comic writers. *Phormis* was cotemporary with *Epicharmus*, and had the inſtructing of *Gelo* the tyrant's ſons. He was a native of *Syracuſe*. Theſe old comedies of *Phormis* were written in ſo grave a ſtile, that ſome critics, by their fragments, have miſtaken him for a tragic writer, contrary to the teſtimony of *Ariſtotle*, and all antiquity. *C.* 5. *Poet.*

*Eupolis* flouriſhed about the 92d *Olympiad*, being an imitator of *Cratinus*, who was cotemporary with *Crates*. It is reported by ſome writers, that *Alcibiades*, during his great power at *Athens*, ordered the Poet to be caſt into the ſea, for having expos'd him in one of his comedies. And *Ælian* ſays, That *Ephialtes*, a ſlave of *Eupolis*, running away from his maſter with ſome plays which he had ſtolen, was ſeized and killed by *Eupolis*'s dog. *Suidas* ſays, that *Euetes* and *Euxenides* publiſhed ſome comedies at *Athens*, at the ſame time that *Epicharmus* publiſhed his at *Syracuſe*. But if this were a fact well proved, *Ariſtotle*, where he enquires into the antiquity of comedy, wou'd not have allowed the *Syracuſans* the honour of its invention.

*Menander* and *Philemon* were cotemporaries. *Philemon* is ſaid to have lived to upwards of an hundred years, and died of an immoderate fit of laughter. Both *Quintilian* and *Gellius* are ſurprized the *Athenians* ſhould ſo often prefer *Philemon*'s Plays to *Menander*'s, who meeting *Philemon*, after the judges had decreed him the prize, ſaid; *Tell me truly*, *Philemon*, *did not you bluſh yourſelf to bear the Prize from me?* *Menander* was the ſcholar of *Theophraſtus*, and born the third year of the 109 *Olympiad*, and died the 4th year of the 131. *Menander* made no ſcruple to imitate the beſt comic writers that had preceded him. He wrote 108 comedies: or, according to *Apollodorus*, 105; yet gained the prize but eight times.

*O ſæclum inſipiens & infICetum.*

## SECT. IX.

### *Of the Efficacy of* DRAMATIC POETRY, *in purging the Passions:* PLATO'*s Objections against it answer'd, and the Usefulness of a well regulated Stage asserted.*

THE great End of Tragedy, according to *Aristotle*, is to purge the Passions, as he calls it. This contradicts *Plato*'s opinion, who condemns Tragedy for exciting the Passions. Let us see how these two great men may be reconciled, and Tragedy justified. Had we *Aristotle*'s second Book of Poetry, wherein he has fully cleared this matter, as he declares in his politics, we should not be under any difficulties. The immediate words of the definition are; "Which, "by the means of terror and compassion, purges "these passions, and all others of the like nature "in us."

First, Let us explain the term, *To purge the Passions.* The academic, and after them the stoick Philosophers have used this expression, to signify a driving out and extirpating of the Passions. But Tragedy cannot be said to purge them in a sense which exceeds its power. The peripatetics, or followers of *Aristotle*, being persuaded, that it is the excess of the Passions which renders them vicious, and that when regulated they become useful and necessary, mean, by purging the Passions, to remove that excess by which they are bad, and to reduce them to a just moderation. This is the end which Tragedy proposes, and the only one in which it can succeed. It is easy to shew how it excites terror and compassion in our breasts, in order to purge these Passions. It is done, by setting before us the misfortunes which men have been plunged into by involuntary faults, and by making them familiar to us, teaches us not to apprehend such misfortunes too much when they befall us,

and how they may, in ſome meaſure, be avoided. The Emperor *Antoninus* has a fine reflection to this purpoſe, in the 6th Article of the 11th Book. "Tragedies, (ſays that excellent moraliſt) were firſt "introduced to put men in mind of the many acci-"dents that happen in life, and to give them notice, "that ſuch accidents muſt of neceſſity happen; and "to teach them, that thoſe calamities which enter-"tain them on the ſtage, ought not to be thought "inſupportable in the great theatre of the world." But ſecondly, by purging theſe paſſions, it alſo purges ſuch other paſſions in us, as might lead us into the like misfortunes. For inſtance, who could ſee the Tragedy of *Oedipus*, *Sophocles*'s I mean, and not learn to correct in himſelf all raſhneſs and blind curioſity, which are the immediate cauſes of the dreadful calamities that Prince ſuffered, and not any deliberate crimes? This ſeems to be *Ariſtotle*'s meaning in his definition, and this ſhould be the deſign of Tragedy, as a fable or fiction: ſince all fables were intended to form the manners by proper inſtructions, concealed under the allegory of ſome action.

It is now time to conſider *Plato*'s objections. The power of theatrical repreſentations ſeemed ſo great to him, that he excluded them and their compoſers from his ideal commonwealth. Epic poetry was involved in the ſame cenſure. "Epic and dramatic "writers, ſays he, give us no deſcription of a wiſe "man's character; do not ſet forth that inward "tranquillity of mind, which enables him to main-"tain an even temper, undiſturbed by pleaſure or "pain." So far *Plato* is right. A philoſopher, ſtripped of his Paſſions, would make but a dull figure on the ſtage. He goes on to obſerve, that the poets exhibit to us men given up to ſtrong deſires, and commonly made a prey to the violent agitations of ſome darling Paſſion; or, at beſt, ſtruggling with it. It is confeſſed that Poets are ſo well convinced of the neceſſity and influence of this practice here condemned, that as ſoon as the agitation and anxiety is

over, and it is clearly determined whether the person's conduct has render'd him happy or miserable, he disappears. The cause of that affecting pleasure the audience felt, to hear and see a great man struggling with his Passions, and to mark all the fatal consequences attending their too prevailing power over him, no longer subsisting when his fate is once fully decided.

The best way to take off the force of this objection of *Plato*'s, I conceive, may be to shew a little more fully the several degrees by which Dramatic Poetry recommends itself to us as useful in the regulating our Passions.

We can generally make but imperfect guesses at the true motive of men's actions, and very rarely penetrate to the bottom of their designs. That which breaks out, and appears as a spark, is often produced by a fire that burns furiously within. So that, on the one hand, we too often deceive ourselves, when we imagine we have discovered men's real intent, and men as often deceive us on the other, when they pretend to inform us of the true situation of their minds.

But theatrical persons pull off their mask to the spectators, making them the confidents of their most secret views and intentions. If they leave any thing for conjecture, it is what the judicious part of the audience cannot possibly fail to discover. And this is true both of Tragedy and Comedy. But further.

The Poet's design engages him to describe the Passions, and their Effects, just as they really are, without exaggeration. His method of instruction is the clearest and surest, that of example, and what may fully convince us, that the picture is truly drawn, many cannot help discovering their own character, every man finds his neighbours in some character or other of the stage.

A faithful picture of the Passions is of itself sufficient to make us fear them, and take a full resolution to avoid them. I chuse to instance from some of

our own Tragedies, as moſt generally known. Who that has ſeen or read the *Orphan*, but dreads the ſad effects of an indiſcreet reſerve, occaſioned by love and jealouſy. *Caſtalio*'s and *Polydor*'s ruin are the fatal conſequences of this error in the former; whilſt *Polydor*'s blind paſſion thinking to enjoy *Monimia* in *Caſtalio*'s place, makes him defile his brother's marriage-bed, and be unawares guilty of adultery and inceſt. When we are preſent at ſuch repreſentations, do we not promiſe ourſelves not to give way to the like Paſſions; and wiſh *Caſtalio* had been more ſincere, *Polydor* more cautious, and *OEdipus* more diſcreet? Do not the characters of *Pyrrhus* and *Oreſtes*, in the *Diſtreſſed Mother*, ſhew all the force of a violent and blind love. The former forgets his intereſt and dignity, and moſt ſolemn engagements, injures a fair Princeſs, to whom he was betrothed, to marry the widow of his moſt deadly enemy; *Oreſtes* forgets the ties of honour, juſtice and hoſpitality, and, hoodwinked by his Paſſion, aſſaſſinates a Prince, to whom he was ſent ambaſſador, in the temple, and at the very altar of the Gods. *Hermione* employs a man ſhe deſpiſes, tempting him with hopes of marriage, to murther the man ſhe loves, prompted at once by pride and jealouſy to be revenged on him who could neglect her for another. In ſhort, every well written Play is pregnant with ſuch inſtances, which the reaſonable part of the audience will apply to their own hearts, and there form ſuch reſolutions, as may be of uſe to them in the conduct of their lives.

THERE is another thing we may learn from the ſtage, that all the Paſſions burn faintly at firſt, and would ſoon be extinguiſhed, if by a juſt diffidence of ourſelves, we were determined to fly from ſuch objects as we know to be apt to inflame them.

TRAGEDY propoſes, that all the paſſions it deſcribes in the characters of the ſtage ſhould move and affect, but does not mean that this emotion of the audience ſhould be the ſame with that of the perſon on the ſtage, who is tormented by ſome Paſſion;

nor

nor does Tragedy deſign they ſhould eſpouſe his ſentiments. Moſt commonly its aim is to excite ſentiments altogether oppoſite to thoſe that are exhibited in the play.

When *Medea*, to be revenged on *Jaſon* for leaving her, murders her own children by him in a fury of revenge, the picture is ſo drawn as to give the audience a juſt horror for the paſſion of revenge, which is capable of carrying a mother to ſuch unnatural extremities.

The Poet would raiſe the affection of his audience only to virtuous characters, and there only what is praiſe-worthy is to be commended. We pity their errors whilſt we reſolve to avoid them.

Comedy has its efficacy in the ſame manner. Avarice, knavery, debauchery, coquetry, vanity, ruſticity, *&c.* are ridiculed in Comedy, to make men hate thoſe vices and imperfections, and thus it becomes uſeful in a lower degree to reſtrain the follies and vices of common life, which are often not taken notice of, and ſometimes not underſtood by the ſpeculative philoſopher: yet, when become habitual to a people, they prove deſtructive of the peace and happineſs of ſociety, and tend to the ſubverſion of the ſtate. Every one's reflection may furniſh him with inſtances of this kind both antient and modern, when certain vices and follies that eſcaped the cenſure of the magiſtrate, whoſe power is limited within the compaſs of the laws, have been ſucceſsfully ridiculed and laughed out of countenance on the ſtage. But the Poet who makes his Hero in Comedy a ſucceſsful rake, a triumphant debauchee, openly affronts the ſenſe as well as manners of his audience. For the lewd villain that invades the bed of his friend, or debauches his daughter, will be as jealous as any man to guard his own honour, and preſerve his family from ſhame and diſgrace.

In great and flouriſhing ſtates, Comedy under proper regulations may do good ſervice. Many villanies as well as follies may be expoſed in a manner ſo as to

meet with general approbation. As pride is the darling passion of the heart of man, there is nothing he can bear less than to be made ridiculous: Some have gone so far as to think that there have died more martyrs to pride than to the truth. Honour in its common acceptation among well-bred people, say they, is but a genteel name for it: how much evil goes uncommitted, because honour forbids it! But as it is beneath the dignity and sanctity of religion to play one Passion against another, the stage is the only place where this is allowable, and which, by shewing certain vices to be ridiculous, renders them odious. If licentious poets have abused this liberty, by affixing the marks of ridicule to subjects that deserve a much better treatment, we are not to argue against any thing from the abuse of it. It is well known the pulpit itself has been abused to the worst purposes; yet no sober man would from thence argue against the present use of it.

AGAIN, many virtuous characters in life may be rendered so amiable on the stage by the Poets address, as may tempt some men to be at the pains to attain them. Next to pride, sloth is most predominant in men; so that motives and incitements of all sorts had need be set before them to stir them up to action, and form virtuous habits in them: For if it is sure on the one hand, that much more evil would be committed were men less indolent, so on the other it is as certain, that much more good might be done in the world, if men would be prevailed upon to put their good designs in practice, and follow their good inclinations: And as evils are often greater in imagination than reality, so most duties in life seem much more difficult in practice, than they are found to be upon trial. If then a just representation of the ease that attends the discharge of many virtues, and the attainment of good accomplishments be made, by an able hand, I doubt not but many may, by such representations on the stage, be drawn to try what seems so practicable, so becoming, and so advantageous in it consequences.

BUT

But methinks I hear it already objected, this usefulness of the stage is but imaginary, since there never were any Poets who had the good of mankind so much at heart, and the promoting of virtue in view in their compositions, and therefore we have little reason to expect they should be better now. It is easy to reply, by shewing, that several of the antient dramatic Poets have not much deviated from this rule of virtue, particularly the Tragedians; and it were no hard matter to bring Comedy into the same views: Neither *Plautus* nor *Terence*, upon a fair enquiry, will be found much deviating from the established rules of morality in their times. If that was defective, it was not their fault, but of the religion they professed. And sure it will not be pretended, that under the advantages of truth and revelation, Poets cannot be more regular in their writings. If the stage be submitted to the inspection of a proper magistrate of adequate skill and probity, I do not understand, how any Plays should be acted, but what tend to the good purposes already mentioned.

Thus I think it has been shewn, that the Stage may be made, what it seems to have been first intended by the antient *Greeks*, a school of civil virtues. They always thought it of use to instill the principles of justice and piety, of temperance and humanity in the minds of the people; and their wisest philosophers, in their most serious discourses and writings, cite the dramatic writers to confirm the rules they have laid down for the practice of the moral virtues. To object that the best characters have been exposed on the stage, shews the abuse of a thing, that was intended for better purposes, but is no sufficient objection to an art every way beneficial to society, when executed agreeably to its natural tendency, and restrained by the rules of public decency.

THE

# LIFE

OF

# *SENECA.*

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA the Philoſopher was not author of all the ten Tragedies, that are commonly publiſhed under the name of ANNÆUS SENECA. *Lipſius* attributes only the *Medea* to him; the *Thebaid* he thinks ſhould be aſcribed to ſome writer of the *Auguſtan* age; and the laſt, called *Octavia*, he, with moſt other critics, ſuppoſes the work of ſome bad Poet of the *Auguſtan* age. The reſt in his opinion were written by a nephew of the Philoſopher, whom ſome critics rather believe to have been his ſon; which I cannot aſſent to for this reaſon, becauſe hiſtory mentions but one ſon of his by his firſt wife, who died a boy ſome time before his father's baniſhment. See *Conſol. ad Helviam:* and *Tacitus* no where ſays he had any children by his ſecond wife *Paulina. Maurus Terentianus* ſpeaks of ANNÆUS SENECA a tragic Poet, who flouriſhed after *Pomponius Secundus*; and *Pomponius* was cotemporary with SENECA the Philoſopher.

*In tragicis junxere choris hunc ſæpe diſerti*
*Annæus Seneca & Pomponius ante ſecundus.*

*Sidonius Apollinaris* actually diſtinguiſhes between SENECA the Philoſopher and *Seneca* the Tragedian.

*Quorum unus colit Hiſpidum Platona,*
*Orcheſtram quatit alter Euripidis.*

But

But whether the tragic Poet was ſo nearly related to the Philoſopher as to be his Nephew, may be queſtioned 'till we find ſome authority for this conjecture. But let him be who he will, as we have no account of his life, nor of the author of the *Thebaid*, nor yet of the writer of the *Octavia*, we muſt paſs them by to ſay ſomething of the Philoſopher, who is on all hands preſumed to have compoſed the *Medea*, and by ſome good critics is reckoned author of the *Troades* and *Hyppolitus*.

Lucius Annæus Seneca was born at *Corduba* in *Spain*, about the beginning of the vulgar *Æra*: for we find he died the 12th year of *Nero*, of *Chriſt* 65, being upwards of threeſcore. His Father *Marcus*, who was of the order of Knights, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his eloquence at *Rome*, and ſome of his works that are now extant, ſhew him to have been a man of an exquiſite taſte, a bright genius, and a good critic; At his death, he left our Author poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, which he afterwards immenſely increaſed: for notwithſtanding his application to philoſophy, he applied himſelf to public affairs, and was both Quæſtor and Prætor; but it does not appear whether he obtained theſe honours before his baniſhment, which happened on this occaſion.

*Julia* the daughter of *Germanicus* having been long notorious for her incontinency, the Emperor *Claudian* thought it expedient to baniſh ſuch Perſons as were ſaid to have had any intrigues with that Princeſs; and the Empreſs *Meſſalina*, having conceived ſome diſguſt to Seneca, involved him, whoſe continency was as univerſally acknowledged as it was admired, in the number of thoſe criminal lovers, and baniſhed him into the iſland *Corſica*; where he lived eight years, which he ſpent in the amuſements of ſtudy, and is thought to have often comforted himſelf with writing Poetry during his exile.

*Meſſalina* being dead, *Agrippina*, whom *Claudius* married, and who was convinced of the innocence of Seneca, prevailed with the Emperor to recall him:

After which, as a proof of her good opinion of him, ſhe made him Præceptor to her young ſon *Nero*, for whoſe ſucceſſion to the empire ſhe was then making way. SENECA ſo carefully and ſucceſsfully diſcharged this important truſt, that had the young Prince continued to hearken to his wiſe counſels, as he did during the firſt five years of his government, he would have been the delight, as he afterwards made himſelf the abomination of all his ſubjects. SENECA's riches are ſaid to have increaſed ſo much under the favour of the Prince, that his eſtate in *Britain* was computed at two millions ſterling.

BUT inſenſibly, as *Nero* gave ear to flattery, and his depraved appetites, SENECA's intereſt began to decline at court; from whence he at length held it prudent to retire, when he found it in vain to oppoſe *Nero*'s humour, who now only wiſhed for ſome pretence to get rid of this troubleſome monitor.

SENECA had ſpent ſome time in a peaceful retirement, when *Piſo* and ſome other *Romans* of note, growing impatient of *Nero*'s tyranny, and entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, were diſcovered and put to death. *Tacitus* leaves it undecided, whether SENECA had entered into this conſpiracy: however, *Nero* is ſuppoſed to have privately inſtructed *Natalis* (one of the conſpirators, who impeached the reſt) to accuſe SENECA of being in the plot. The hiſtorian obſerves, that *Nero* had not long before endeavoured, by corrupting ſome of the family, to poiſon SENECA; which, either through the philoſopher's great abſtinence or his precaution, had no effect. When an officer came to him from *Nero* to examine him, as to what knowledge he had of *Piſo*'s meaſures, he anſwered to the ſeveral charges laid againſt him with ſuch an air of innocence and indifference, as provoked the tyrant, when he heard it, to ſend him an order to die. His wife *Paulina*, a lady of great beauty and virtue, ſo earneſtly intreated her huſband to let her die with him, that after having uſed all his art and eloquence to diſſuade her from it, he was at length forced to conſent to her importunity.

THEIR

THEIR veins were opened at one time, but SENECA, who was in years, and dried up by a long course of abstinence, bled very slowly. Fearing therefore that the sight of his ling'ring death might increase *Paulina*'s pains, and that the sight of her in the same condition should break through his best resolutions, and make him act at his death in a manner unbecoming the constancy of his life, he intreated her to be conveyed into another apartment. Having thus avoided that dangerous trial of his constancy, with a chearful countenance and perfect composure of mind he addressed himself to his weeping friends, and gently reminded them of the just reproach they made themselves liable to, by yielding so much to their grief: then as it were collecting all his sinking spirits, he employed all the charms of his eloquence in discoursing to them of the excellency of virtue, and in explaining to them the most sublime moral truths. These his dying words were carefully taken down in writing by some of the assistants, and were afterwards communicated to the public, "For which "reason (says *Tacitus*) I have forborn inserting them "in my history." The dying words of great men are always valuable, so that the loss of this curious Piece is much to be lamented.

AT length, SENECA perceiving his death too tedious and lingering, swallowed a strong poison, which his friend *Statius Annæus*, an able physician, administered to him; but his body was already so exhausted, and decayed, as to be proof against it. Then SENECA ordered his attendants to lead him into a hot bath, and as soon as he came in, took some of the water and sprinkled it upon them, saying, He made that libation to *Jupiter* the deliverer: He was soon after suffocated by the vapours of the bath, and so expired.

NERO, who had no particular reason to be offended with *Paulina*, had dispatched some officers to prevent her death: they found her so faint, that it was generally believed, she was altogether insensible of

what was done, when they bound up her arms. Though ſhe was ſnatched from death by the tyrant's mercy, and the care of her friends, and ſurvived her huſband a few years, yet the paleneſs of her countenance, which ſhewed the great quantity of blood ſhe had loſt, gloriouſly witneſſed to the world that generous affection which ſhe bore her huſband.

It is not my province here to ſay any thing in particular of Seneca, either as a polite writer in proſe, or as an excellent moral and natural philoſopher; though his character, in theſe reſpects, is much more conſiderable than as a writer of Tragedies. He ſhewed himſelf likewiſe a very witty writer in that excellent ſatyrical piece, which is called, *The Apotheoſis of the Emperor* Claudian.

But before we enter into his character as a dramatic Poet, I ſhall make a previous reflection or two on the conduct of the Antients in dramatic poetry, as far as it ſeems to deviate from the received rules of our modern critics, who, in many reſpects, have taught us, in theory at leaſt, to improve on the Antients.

The parts of a Play, in which its morals ſhould appear, are the fable, and the characters: In their characters they have been tolerably exact, and their chorus took care to rectify or palliate whatever might ſeem contrary to the ſtrict rules of virtue, or was dubious and admitted of a double ſenſe. The Reader will obſerve, that I ſpeak only of Tragedy. The fable, which *Ariſtotle* calls the ſoul of Tragedy, if well conſtituted, ſhould be moral. I cannot ſay, that I find many of the Antients attended to this rule. This neglect might ſometimes proceed from their adhering too cloſely to the hiſtorical accounts of their heroic anceſtors, whoſe adventures were the ſubjects of moſt of their Tragedies. And they might imagine a ſtrict obſervation of what we call poetical juſtice, neither ſo agreeable, nor ſo conducive to the great end of their Tragedy, which was to fill the minds of the audience with terror and compaſſion.

ANOTHER great fault in their Drama seems to have been, their making the Gods interpose so often without any visible necessity, and sometimes act very unjustly. Both these faults are also chargeable on their Epic Poetry, only, as this species of Poetry aims at the sublime and the marvellous in the œconomy of its fable, which this machinery of Gods intervening promotes, it is hereby rendered more probable, or at least more excusable in Epic than Dramatic Poetry. So that the defect of their fable, in point of morality, must be given up to the severity of the modern critics, some of whom, and particularly *Dacier*, have in vain attempted, out of their great zeal for the antients, to find a moral, where they never thought of any themselves. Yet, in justice to some of them, we must grant, that the absurd doctrines of their theology should, in some sort, excuse their conduct with respect to the characters of their Gods. Thus, whenever, according to the received doctrine of their priests, and even of the stoic philosophers, *Jupiter* is confounded with Fate and blind Destiny, no justice can be expected from his Dispensations. And so long as the whole tribe of inferior Gods is supposed subject to all the extravagancies of human passions and infirmities, it cannot be presumed, that they should either dispence their favours, or wreck their vengeance according to the real merits or demerits of mankind.

THERE are two Tragedies out of the ten extant under SENECA's name, which I propose to examine. The first is *Medea*, which, as being on all hands attributed to the philosopher, will shew his character as a tragic Poet.

THE second is *OEdipus*, the most celebrated subject in all antiquity, which, I think, is to be ascribed to the other SENECA, who, in the dramatic part, has not only out-done the philosopher, but even rivals *Sophocles*, his great original, though this Play is esteemed the *Greek* Poet's master-piece.

TO begin with the Tragedy of *Medea*. It has but five persons or characters. *Medea*, her confidant, *Jason*,

*ſon*, *Creon*, and a meſſenger. The ſcene is at *Corinth*, before *Creon*'s palace. The chorus may be ſuppoſed a company of *Corinthians* waiting there. The firſt act conſiſts of but one ſcene, and the ſong of the chorus. *Medea* having heard of *Jaſon*'s nuptials with *Creüſa*, *Creon*'s daughter, declares her reſolution of being revenged on her huſband for his infidelity. Then ſhe goes out, and the chorus ſing the hymeneal ſong in praiſe of *Jaſon* and *Creüſa*.

In the firſt ſcene of the 2d act, *Medea* enters with her confidant, who endeavours to calm her paſſion. *Creon* comes in the ſecond ſcene, and finding *Medea* there, orders the guards to bid her inſtantly depart out of his dominions. She advances to ſpeak to the King, but all that ſhe obtains by her expoſtulations and entreaties, is one day's time to ſee and bid her children farewell. Then both leave the ſtage, and the chorus concludes the act, by declaiming againſt the criminal boldneſs of thoſe men who firſt ventured to ſea, * yet foretells, the time ſhall come when all nations ſhall, as it were, be joined and united by univerſal trade and commerce. *Medea* and her confidant begin the third act. She grows more enraged, and the other uſes more arguments in vain, to diſſuade her from giving way to her paſſion and revenge. In the ſecond ſcene, *Jaſon*

* It was 1500 years, before what the Poet there ſpeaks of came to be verified by our navigation to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and above 700 between *Jaſon* and SENECA. The poet having deſcribed the trade of the *Greeks*, *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians* of thoſe times, or rather of the *Romans* of his own time, goes on thus;

————*venient annis*
*Sæcula ſeris, quibus oceanus*
*Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens*
*Pateat Tellus, Tiphyſque novos*
*Detegat orbes; nec ſit terris*
*Ultima Thulæ.*

*Ortelius*, the geographer, remarks with pleaſure, That the poet, who was a *Spaniard*, has here prophetically deſcribed the diſcovery of the new world by his countrymen the *Spaniards*. This paſſage, however extraordinary, was abſurd in the mouth of the *Corinthian* chorus.

comes

comes to *Medea*, ſolemnly proteſting his great trouble and concern, that he is forced to divorce her, which he had not conſented to ſo much for the preſervation of his own life, as out of a fatherly tenderneſs for their two children, who would elſe inevitably be involved in the ſame ruin with their parents. Their caſe was this. *Medea*, to be revenged on *Pelias*, King of *Theſſaly*, for his cruelty to *Jaſon*, had pretended, by virtue of her enchantments to reſtore the old King to youth and vigour. But having perſuaded his daughters to conſent, ſhe treacherouſly killed him in the operation. This ſo exaſperated the neighbouring *Greeks* againſt her and *Jaſon*, that he fled the country, and came with his family for refuge and protection to *Corinth*. *Creon* offers him both, on condition he would divorce *Medea*, and marry his daughter *Creüſa*. *Jaſon* comes in this ſcene, to juſtify his conduct to *Medea*; he aſſures her, it was owing to his moſt earneſt requeſt, that *Creon* had been prevailed with to change the ſentence of her death into baniſhment. *Medea*, far from being ſatisfied with his apology, reproaches him with great bitterneſs for his ingratitude and reminds him, that all the crimes ſhe is accuſed of, were committed for his ſake and advantage. Then ſhe tries to perſuade him to fly with her from *Corinth*; or, at leaſt, deſires he would let her have the comfort to take her children along with her, to be the companions of her exile. Here *Jaſon* betrays a father's fondneſs for his two ſons; which *Medea* immediately lays hold of as a fit occaſion of revenge, and obtains his conſent to take her laſt leave of them. The chorus conclude the act, by commemorating the terrible manner in which *Neptune*, according to the *Greek* fables, is ſaid to have puniſhed the preſumption of the *Argonauts*, who were the firſt conſiderable ſailors among them; and then follows a prayer to that God, to ſpare *Jaſon*, who was innocent, ſince it was by the direction of the Gods that he undertook the *Colchian* expedition.

MEDEA's confidant opens the 4th act, and deſcribes with horror the deadly preparations which her miſtreſs

ſtreſs was making to execúte ſome dreadful deſign. The ſecond ſcene diſcovers *Medea* in the midſt of her magical ceremonies, and invoking all the infernal powers to prepare the rich, but fatal garment ſhe intends as a preſent for *Creüſa*, and which was to be ſo impregnated with fire, that, as ſoon as the princeſs put it on, it ſhould conſume her, and all the Palace of *Creon*. When this is done, ſhe ſends for her children to carry the fatal gift to the bride. The chorus cloſe the act, expreſſing their apprehenſions of *Medea*'s ill deſigns in general, which they pray the Gods to avert.

The fifth act begins with a perſon who brings a dreadful account how *Creüſa*, with her Father *Creon*, were conſumed by a terrible fire that broke out in the palace, as ſoon as *Creüſa* had put on the robe which *Medea* had ſent her. The ſorcereſs now triumphing in the general diſtreſs, and this immediate ſucceſs of her revenge, prepares to compleat it by the murder of her children. Nature and rage for a time ſtrive in her heart. In the interim, *Jaſon* comes out with ſome perſons to ſeize her, which ſhe apprehending, at firſt ſight of them retires to the top of the houſe with the children. There ſhe cruelly inſults him a while, and then kills one of her ſons in his ſight. The afflicted Father uſes all his intreaties to ſave the other's life, but in vain: then in his diſtraction he calls upon her to kill him too; but *Medea*, ſatisfied with this full vengeance, rides away in triumph thro' the air in a chariot drawn by flying dragons. *Jaſon* in deſpair cannot forbear accuſing providence, and concludes the Play with this miſerable reflection, That where-ever ſhe goes, ſhe muſt be a witneſs to the world that there are no Gods.

As this ſubject has been ſo highly celebrated by all the antients, I was the more willing to give this ſketch of it; but cannot diſcover what there is in it, that deſerved their admiration. It has abſolutely no moral: for though it may be granted, that *Jaſon* could have no excuſe to leave *Medea*, who had made

her

her ſelf odious to all the world by her crimes, ſince they were committed all for his ſake, whom ſhe paſſionately lov'd; yet both *Creon* and *Creüſa*, whom ſhe deſtroys, ſeems at leaſt much more innocent than ſhe can be ſaid to have been, who goes away fully revenged and unpuniſhed. I ſay nothing about her enchantments, becauſe, tho' I think they are inconſiſtent with probability, and ſo unfit for Tragedy; yet as I find *Lucan* introduces *Erictho* with her enchantments in his *Pharſalia*, the ſcene of which is laid ſo many ages after, and ſo near the time of his writing it, I am ready to think the belief of ſorcery and enchantments univerſally prevailed, at leaſt among the vulgar, even in SENECA's and his time.

IF the Plan of *Ovid*'s Tragedy of *Medea* was no better, I know not how to juſtify the *Romans*, who have ſpoken of it with ſo much applauſe: though I muſt confeſs, I think the antients, as well as we ſeem to have too often neglected the right conſtitution of the fable in tragedy. Their ſcene is indeed generally more regular, as well as the time of action: But juſtice and the moral characters are not always carefully maintained, eſpecially the former, as we have already obſerved. However, *Euripides* has been more judicious than SENECA in the management of this ſubject. The character of *Ægæus* king of *Athens*, who is ſuppoſed to have then been at *Corinth*, and loved *Medea*, has been injudiciouſly omitted by SENECA: which *Euripides* has made good uſe of, as he has of the Pædagogue or ſervant that attended *Medea*'s children, whoſe converſation with the nurſe or confidant, very naturally introduces an account of what was fit for the audience to be informed of, as previous to the enſuing action of the play. This SENECA omits, and ſo is forced to begin the play by a tedious ſoliloquy. The Chorus likewiſe in *Euripides* are not meer ſpectators, as in SENECA, but bear a real part through the play; nor is his ſtage ever left without ſome principal actor, by which means the action is carried on in a more uniform manner, than in the

*Roman*

*Roman* Poet: But the *Greek* has no more regard to poetical juſtice in the cataſtrophe, than the other: Indeed *Medea* does not kill her children on the ſtage, they are heard by the Chorus crying out for mercy to their mother behind the ſcenes.

It is obſervable, that *Ariſtotle* prefers what he calls the Pathetic to the Moral Tragedies; but whether he does this as a Philoſopher, or as a Critic, who forms his rules from the practice of the moſt celebrated Poets, I cannot pretend to determine.

Seneca's ſtile is magnificent, the ſentiments are ſublime, and the images very lively and poetical; but he wants that noble ſimplicity and pathetic manner which recommends *Euripides*, and in the whole it ſeems to have been written for the cloſet rather than the ſtage.

But let us ſee whether the younger *Seneca*, author of *OEdipus*, had not a better genius for dramatic poetry: The hiſtorical fable of the play is as follows.

*Laius* King of *Thebes* and Father of *OEdipus*, was informed by an Oracle, that his wife *Jocaſta* would bear a ſon, that ſhould kill him. To elude the danger threatened by the Oracle, *Laius*, as ſoon as the child was born, gives him to one of his ſervants to be killed. The man being touched with compaſſion, inſtead of taking away the innocent infant's life, having bored his feet, and paſſed an ozier twig through them, hung him by the heels in a wood, and there left him to the farther diſpoſal of Providence. It was the child's good fortune to be found thus hanging by a domeſtic of *Polybus* King of *Corinth*, who took little *OEdipus* down (who was ſo named from his ſwelled feet), and carried him to his maſter. The King being childleſs, adopted *OEdipus*, and brought him up at *Corinth* as his Son.

About the time *OEdipus* was grown to man's eſtate he happened to have ſome words with a *Corinthian*, who in the heat of diſpute let fall ſome words reflecting on the uncertainty of his parentage, which had hitherto, by the expreſs order of *Polybus*, been

concealed

concealed from him. *OEdipus,* who grew very uneasy at this reproach, went to consult the Oracle at *Delphi*, there to learn a more certain account of his parentage; but is forbid by the Oracle to make any farther enquiry about it, for it was his destiny to kill his Father, and beget Children on his Mother. Alarm'd and perplexed at this terrible answer, he resolves to abandon *Corinth*, which he still believed to be his native country: on the road to *Thebes* he meets *Laius*, and, a quarrel arising between them about the way, kills his Father in the fray, and soon after proceeds on his journey to *Thebes*, which at his arrival he finds in confusion, both on the account of their King's unfortunate death (the news of which was just arrived) and because of the ravages committed by the cruel monster *Sphinx*. The only means of deliverance from this last calamity, was for some body to expound the riddle she proposed, but as many as failed in the attempt forfeited their lives; which having been the fate of several already, deterred others from so dangerous an undertaking. As an encouragement, the *Thebans* now publickly offered the Crown and Queen *Jocasta* in marriage to him that should succeed. This tempted *OEdipus* to undertake to expound the riddle, which he did, upon which the monster through grief and indignation cast itself headlong from a rock, and so perished. Thus was *Thebes* delivered, and the generous deliverer receiving the promised reward, ignorantly mounted his Father's throne and bed.

THUS far the history of *OEdipus* precedes the action of the Play we are about to examine; and as the whole action of it naturally arises from the foregoing account, *Sophocles* artfully introduces a narration of the whole story at the unravelling of the plot, which is esteemed as beautiful as any of the ancients or moderns.

THUS far *OEdipus* is to be supposed to have maintained the character of a just and wise man: invincible ignorance excuses the secret guilt or rather calamity of his actions; and accordingly in the first

scene

ſcene of the *Greek* Poet, the Prieſt of *Jupiter* addreſſes him as a good and innocent Prince. But to come to SENECA's Play.

HE omits that circumſtance, and introduces *OEdipus* and *Jocaſta* in the firſt ſcene of the firſt act, lamenting their people's diſtreſs, and a Chorus of *Thebans* imploring the mercy of the Gods, and deſcribing the dreadful havock which the plague makes among them, concludes the act. As they go off the ſtage, they ſee *Creon*, *Jocaſta*'s brother, who was juſt returned from *Delphi*, where *OEdipus* had ſent him to enquire what was to be done to ſtop the plague. *OEdipus* opens the ſecond act with *Creon*, whom he preſſes to acquaint him with the anſwer of *Apollo*. At length *Creon* informs him, that the Oracle order'd that the murderer of *Laius* ſhould be driven out of the city, and then the plague would ceaſe. *OEdipus*, having made heavy imprecations againſt the murderer, deſires *Creon* to inform him of the particular manner of *Laius*'s death: *Creon* tells him, that the King being on the road with but a few attendants, as in time of peace, was attack'd by ſome robbers and kill'd: Then obſerving the blind prophet *Tireſias* and his daughter *Manto* advancing, *OEdipus* orders a ſacrifice to be prepared, that the prophet may by that means conſult the Gods and diſcover the murderer. The whole proceſs of the ſacrifice, which is performed on the ſtage, is full of the moſt ominous indications: but the prophet not being yet able to find out the criminal, reſolves to have recourſe to necromancy, and calls up the ghoſt of *Laius*; but before he goes off the ſtage for this purpoſe, he orders the Chorus to ſing an hymn in praiſe of *Bacchus*, which cloſes the ſecond act.

IN the third, *Creon* comes with *OEdipus*, and tells him, that *Tireſias* having enquired of the ghoſt of *Laius*, who had killed him, was told that *OEdipus* was the man. He being ſtill, in a great meaſure, perſuaded that *Polybus* was his Father, denies his having killed his Father, or committed inceſt with his Mother,

Mother, and ſo being enrag'd with *Creon*, who ſeem'd to charge him with thoſe crimes, ſends him to priſon, ſuſpecting it was a plot laid between *Creon* and *Tireſias*, to procure the former the crown. The Chorus ends the act by excuſing *OEdipus*'s conduct, and accuſing the hard fate of *Thebes*, which, from its firſt foundation, had been doomed to undergo a ſeries of calamities.

OEDIPUS opens the fourth act, being conſcious to himſelf of his own innocence, yet ſeemed confounded at the contrary declaration of the Gods, and by degrees begins to miſtruſt, that the perſon whom he had killed in the fray on his way to *Thebes* might be *Laius*, and aſking *Jocaſta*, who was now come on the ſtage, about the time and place of the King's death, her account confirms his ſuſpicion. In the next ſcene comes a meſſenger from *Corinth*, to acquaint him with his Father *Polybus*'s death, and that the Queen his Mother ſent to invite him to come and take the government upon him. *OEdipus* is overjoy'd to hear that his Father had died a natural death, but being ſtill mindful of the firſt Oracle, fears to go to *Corinth*, becauſe of his Mother. The zealous meſſenger, who, according to SENECA, is ſuppoſed to be the very man that had received *OEdipus* from the ſhepherd, that *Laius* had ſent to kill him, aſſures *OEdipus*, he need not fear the Oracles, for that he was not the ſon of *Merope*, Queen of *Corinth*, and then proceeds to give him an account of the whole adventure. For SENECA differs a little from the received ſtory, and ſuppoſes that *Phorbas*, the ſhepherd of King *Laius*, meeting with this ſervant of *Polybus*, whilſt he was going to hang up the child by the feet, which he had already bored, inſtead of doing ſo, gave him to the *Corinthian*, who brought him to *Polybus*. *Phorbas* being now ſent for by *OEdipus*, and threatned with the rack, is forced to diſcover all, which plunges the wretched *OEdipus* into diſtraction and deſpair: the ſong of the Chorus ſhuts up the act, preferring the ſecurity of private life in a middle ſtation,

tion, to the dangerous changes to which the throne is expofed. A *Theban* enters in the firft fcene of the fifth act, giving an account of the confequence of *OEdipus*'s defpair, and his putting out his eyes. The Chorus excufe this action, only blaming him for ftriving to avoid the decrees of Fate, which we fhall find was intended by SENECA for the moral of the Play. But to proceed; in the fecond fcene, *OEdipus* being blind, comes forward, and meeting *Jocafta*, after fome melancholic expoftulations, fuitable to their prefent horrors of mind, fhe fnatches the fword from his fide, and kills herfelf. *OEdipus* goes off, and banifhes himfelf from *Thebes*, as the Oracle had directed, which ends the Play.

I think moft of the alterations which SENECA has made from *Sophocles*, are for the better, and particularly the laft, of making *Jocafta* kill herfelf with *OEdipus*'s fword. In *Sophocles* fhe hangs herfelf behind the fcenes. The *Greek* has more decorum, the *Roman* is more natural in this point.

I come now to the paffage from the Chorus in the 5th act, in which I think SENECA has given the moral of the Play.

*Fatis agimur; cedite Fatis;*
*Non follicitæ poffunt curæ*
*Mutare fati ftamina fufi.*
*Quicquid patimur mortale genus*
*Quicquid facimus, venit ex alto*
*Servatque fuæ decreta colûs*
*Lachefis. Dura revoluta manu*
*Omnia certo tramite vadunt;*
*Primufque dies dedit extremum.*
*Non illa Deo vertiffe licet,*
*Quæ nexa fuis currunt Caufis.*
*It cuique ratus, prece non ulla*
*Mobilis, ordo: multis ipfum*
*Timuiffe nocet; multi ad Fatum*
*Venere fuum dum Fata timent.*

The conclufion of this paffage very ftrongly and particularly intimates, that *OEdipus*, by feeking to de-

2 cline,

cline, unavoidably brought on his own ruin. This doctrine is agreeable to the Stoic philoſophy, which ſect was the moſt prevailing in the *Roman* Empire, from the time of SENECA the Philoſopher, down to the Emperor *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. So that it would be a weak argument to prove this play was written by the Philoſopher, to ſay that this moral is founded on the Stoical principles. For if we ſuppoſe the author to be the nephew of the Philoſopher, which is as probable as the other, it is natural to preſume he would follow the ſect in vogue, and which his uncle had made ſo illuſtrious.

As for the ſtile of *OEdipus*, I think it more natural and better ſuited to the ſtage than that of the *Medea*.

BY theſe ſketches I hope the reader may form ſome judgment of the method of the ancients in the deſign and conduct of their Tragedies. The Philoſopher's *Medea*, I muſt confeſs, is inferior to that of *Euripides*, at the ſame time, I think the *OEdipus* of the other *Seneca*, in moſt points equal, and in ſome ſuperior to that of *Sophocles*, and much the beſt of the *Latin* Tragedies extant, which we are not here conſidering, as the generality of Commentators do, only with regard to the ſtile and ſentiments, but as a Dramatic Poem.

THE *Octavia*, the only remaining *Roman* Tragedy, properly ſo called, was the work of ſome Rhetorician, who neither underſtood the rules of the Drama, nor of juſt writing, and is as faulty in the ſtile as in the reſt.

THE other ſeven Tragedies, excepting the *Thebaid*, have many beauties; the ſtile is generally noble, the ſentiments ſublime, but the fable and execution of theſe Plays is irregular, though they are preferable, in all theſe reſpects, to the *Thebaid*, which is but an indifferent compoſition, and little better than the *Octavia*. If the reſt are not examined ſtrictly by the rules of the ſtage, they will not want admirers; for the authors in general ſtudied the beauty of the ſtile more than the propriety of characters, and the regularity of the Drama.

THE

# LIFE

OF

# PLAUTUS.

PLAUTUS was born at *Sarſina*, now *Sezza*, a ſmall town in *Umbria*, a Province of *Italy*, now called *Æmilia:* His proper name was *Marcius Accius*, and from his ſplay feet is ſuppoſed to have got the firname of PLAUTUS. His Parentage ſeems to have been mean; ſome think him the ſon of a ſlave, *Libertus*.

As if the memory of writers were ſufficiently preſerved in their works, we meet with very ſlender accounts of their lives among the ancients, and of none leſs than of PLAUTUS. Nor can we fix the time of the firſt acting of any of his Plays, and hardly aſcertain his age by any circumſtances of his life. *Cicero* has in general told us, that our Poet was ſome years younger than *Nævius* or *Ennius*, and that he died the firſt year of the elder *Cato*'s Cenſorſhip, when *Claudius Pulcher* and *Lucius Portius Licinius* were Conſuls, about the year of *Rome* 569, 184 years before the birth of CHRIST. *A. Gellius* (Lib. 3. Cap. 3.) ſays, that PLAUTUS flouriſhed at the ſame time that *Cato* the Cenſor was diſtinguiſhed at *Rome* for his eloquence: He adds out of *Varro*, that PLAUTUS's Plays were ſo well received by the *Romans*, that the Poet having been handſomely paid for them, thought of doubling his ſtock by trading; in which he was ſo unfortunate, that he loſt all he had got by the Muſes, and

for

for his ſubſiſtence was reduced, in the time of a general famine, to work at the mill. How long he continued in this diſtreſs is no where ſaid; but *Varro* adds, that the Poet's wit was his beſt ſupport, and that he compoſed three Plays during his daily drudgery, the profits of which one would think might be enough to extricate him from this hard ſervice.

We have twenty of his Plays extant, though not all of them entire; none of them were compoſed at the mill, but before his bankruptcy. *Varro* allowed twenty-ſix to be of his compoſition, which were all extant in *Gellius*'s time, though he ſeems doubtful whether he ſhould not aſcribe many others to Plautus, induced by the rule which *Varro* had laid down as the beſt to diſtinguiſh which were his, the peculiar humour that reigns in his Comedies, and which none could ever come up to. But then *Gellius* elſewhere ſeems to be of opinion that Plautus might have reviſed ſeveral Plays of other Poets, which by this means might in ſome places ſavour of his manner: So that we have no warrantable reaſon to go beyond the number *Varro* thought fit to allow him. That great critic had written a particular treatiſe on Plautus's works, the ſecond book of which is quoted by *Gellius*, who has from thence preſerved to us the foregoing account of him. Many other Critics are mentioned by *Gellius* in the ſame place, who had all written ſome pieces upon Plautus, which are an argument of the great eſteem the *Romans* always preſerved for him; and there is a paſſage in *Arnobius*, where that Father ridiculing the heathen ſuperſtition, pleaſantly aſks them, how they could imagine the acting the *Amphytryo* of Plautus could be a means to pacify the anger of *Jupiter*; from which one may infer the acting of that play on ſolemn occaſions continued as late as *Diocleſian*'s reign. There were two authors, *M. Aquilius* and *Plautius*, whoſe right the Critics aſſerted to ſeveral Plays that had for ſome time paſſed in the common opinion for Plautus's; and indeed without ſuch an error the *Romans* could never

have made the number of his Plays exceed an hundred, as *Gellius* aſſures us ſome had done, and mentions the names of ſeveral of them.

Plautus is ſaid by *Varro* to have compoſed the following Epitaph for himſelf, which, as ſavouring of vanity, has been rejected by ſome Critics as not of his making: but as *Gellius* (Lib. 1. Cap. 24.) expreſly cites *Varro* for it, I ſhall give it the Reader with the tranſlation, leaving it to him to cenſure, or acquit the Poet for ſpeaking ſo advantageouſly in his own praiſe.

*Poſtquam eſt mortem aptus Plautus; Comœdia luget,*
*Scena eſt deſerta; hinc riſus, luduſque, jocuſque,*
*Et numeri innumeri ſimul omnes collachrymarunt.*

Wit, laughter, jeſts, and all the train that uſe
T'adorn the Scene, and grace the Comic Muſe,
Forſook the Stage, at *Plautus*' death to mourn,
And Harmony undone ſat weeping o'er his urn.

Before we enter into a particular examination of Plautus's works, it may not be diſagreeable to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of the *Roman* Comedy, when he began to appear as a writer for the ſtage; a curſory review both of the *Greek* and *Roman* ſtage will moſt naturally lead us to our purpoſe.

The old *Greek* Comedy did not begin 'till ſome time after *Æſchylus*; its ſubjects were not feigned, but real; they ſpared not the perſons of the chief magiſtrates, whoſe dignity could not protect them from the inſolent invectives of the Poets. They were all introduced on the ſtage with their true countenances, and as it were *in propriâ perſonâ*. In time toleration rendered this liberty exceſſive, and the Poets were forbid naming the perſons whoſe actions they would expoſe: Yet under borrowed names they drew mens characters ſo juſtly, that with the help of the maſk, none could miſtake the perſon intended. As this proceeding was a medium between the old and the new, it was named the Middle Comedy. Some of *Ariſtophanes*'s laſt pieces are of this

nature. It was not long before this ſecond manner was thought as abuſive and dangerous as the firſt, and was accordingly prohibited, and the Poets ordered not only to uſe feigned names, and to leave off the maſk ſo like the perſons, but to invent their ſubjects. Thus at length by proper regulations, Comedy became what it naturally ſhould be, a general imitation of the actions of common life, and was ſtiled the New Comedy: Such was the beginning, progreſs, and perfection of it among the *Greeks*.

AMONG the *Romans* it had much the ſame turn. The firſt ſcenic Games were celebrated by way of a ſolemn devotion, and to avert the anger of the Gods, when *Rome* had been long afflicted with the plague in the year of *Rome* 392, about the beginning of the 105th Olympiad: They were theatrical dances and geſticulations, accompanied with groſs railleries, in the Feſcennine or Saturnian Verſe. To this ſucceeded the Satires, a more regular Dramatic Poem, but full of low wit and humour, ſomewhat reſembling our Farces. The warlike, but as yet unpoliſh'd *Romans*, took up with theſe entertainments for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty years, and the *Greek* Comedy had attained its higheſt perfection in *Menander*, fifty years before *Livius Andronicus*, a *Greek* by birth, bethought himſelf of tranſlating ſome of the works of his countrymen, in order to improve the *Roman* ſtage. *Livius*'s firſt play was acted in the year of *Rome* 514, in the firſt year of the 135th Olympiad. *Nævius* brought one of his Plays on the ſtage about five years after; and about ſix years after that, PLAUTUS was born: and if we ſuppoſe our author twenty-two, when he wrote his firſt Play, it will fall in with the year of *Rome* 550, for it is likely he began very young, the neceſſitous circumſtances he labour'd under being a ſpur to his wit and induſtry. About thirty years after *Nævius*, *Ennius* began to write Plays, and though he began before our author, and was ſeveral years older, he lived many years after him: for *Ennius Gellius*, Lib. 17. Cap. 21. was ſixty-ſeven when he

he wrote the twelfth book of his annals. *Terence* was about nine years old when PLAUTUS died, in the year of *Rome* 569, and his *Andrian* was acted in the twenty-eighth year of his age; though I think it very probable, that was not *Terence*'s first Play: so that here was not an interval of above eighteen years between PLAUTUS's last and *Terence*'s first Play. *Cæcilius Accius*, and *Pacuvius*, were contemporaries with our author, and *Licinius* was not much elder. There were many other Poets sprung up during this time, but these are the most considerable. Thus in less than eighty years, comedy was begun and perfected among the *Romans*.

AFTER this general view of the *Greek* and *Roman* stage, let us carry on our enquiry into what more particularly relates to PLAUTUS. He has been particularly esteemed by the best judges, both antient and modern on these two accounts: 1. The exact propriety of his expression, which has been made by many the standard of the purest *Latin*. 2. That which set him above all the *Roman* Comic writers, is the true ridicule and humour of his characters. This is the constant opinion of *Varro*, *Macrobius*, *Gellius*, aud *Cicero*; and the most eminent modern Critics, as *Lipsius*, the *Scaligers*, *Muretus*, and *Turnebus*, not to name a long catalogue of others, who have not disputed PLAUTUS's excellency in these two respects. *Quintilian* indeed speaks little to the advantage of the *Roman* Comedy in general, in which he thinks his countrymen very deficient. It were to be wished he had explained himself more largely on this head. *Horace* has dealt more ingenuously with his Readers, in express terms condemning his Countrymen of the preceding age for commending and admiring PLAUTUS's wit and numbers, and charges them with folly for so doing.

*At nostri proavi Plautinos & numeros &*
*Laudavêre sales; nimiùm patienter utrumque*
*Ne dicam stultè mirati; si modo ego & vos*

*Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,*
*Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus & aure.*

De Arte Poetica.

HORACE, as appears by many passages in his Epistles and Satires, was very zealous to abolish a false taste, which prevailed even in the *Augustan* age, of preferring the old Poets to all that succeeded them, without examining into their respective merit. In order to this, he thought it necessary to shew the *Romans* they were mistaken. Thus he has condemned *Lucilius*, which censure however *Quintilian* disapproves, saying, that Poet's Satires were as much above his reproaches, as they fell short of the immoderate praises bestowed on them by the admirers of *Lucilius*. I think we may apply this to PLAUTUS, whose wit was sometimes low in compliance with the taste of the age, and his numbers generally irregular thro' the imperfect state of music, and the want of a good ear in the age he wrote for: yet the generality in succeeding times excused his numbers, and liked his wit, perhaps too much, as thinking it without alloy.

As to his numbers, PLAUTUS himself seems to have made no great account of them, according to the last line of his Epitaph, *Et numeri innumeri*, &c. that is, irregular numbers. It has been observed in the Introduction to the Dramatic Poets, that the chief merit of these numbers seems to have consisted in their fitness to the music that accompanied them in the actor's Declamation. Now the recitative music, to which PLAUTUS's Plays were set, was probably much more simple and unharmonious, than that composed in the *Augustan* age, when all the arts that serve to enliven and adorn life, were carried to their height: And this reflection will partly justify his low wit, which is generally suited to his characters, and possibly was well adapted to the taste of his audience.

*Horace* was certainly to be commended, for endeavouring to introduce a better taste, than that which had so prejudiced them in favour of antiquity, that they were blind to the grossest faults of those writers,

and were incapable of doing juſtice to the beſt modern performances. But he might, one ſhould think, have avoided ſo general a cenſure, which he paſſed in contradiction to the opinion of many of the beſt judges: and granting PLAUTUS ſhould abound in falſe wit, if it is introduced in the character of a ſlave or paraſite, I do not ſee how the poet is affected by the cenſure, whilſt he makes them ſpeak in character. It was the audience, who ſhould be blamed for applauding what the poet might mean to ridicule.

THE generality of writers I believe find it hard to reſiſt the temptation of being witty when they can; and yet it is judged to be ſo nice a point, that not one in a hundred is truly ſo, where he pretends to it moſt.

THERE hardly ever appear'd a brighter genius than that of *Ovid*; yet by too great a complacency in indulging it, he fell ſhort of that perfection for which nature ſeemed to have deſigned him.

*Virgil*'s flegmatic temper corrected the heat of his fancy, yet I doubt his more juvenile works were not quite exempt from falſe wit; which indeed is manifeſtly true, if we allow ſome of theſe little Poems to be of his compoſing, which are vulgarly called his *Juvenilia*.

*Lucan* and *Seneca* were both of a noble ſpirit and unbounded fancy, that led them too far in purſuit of wit; but their eagerneſs has often made them with *Ixion* embrace a cloud inſtead of the real beauty they thought to enjoy.

EVEN our grave Cenſurer has ſometimes given into this falſe wit, where he pretends to be moſt witty, as in ſome of his Epodes, and the Satire on *Perſius* and *Rupilius*.

*Terence* I believe was aware of *Plautus*'s foible, and has cautiouſly avoided it, but has not eſcaped the other extreme of coldneſs, in the general opinion, as well as of *Julius Cæſar*, to whom the following Verſes giving the character of *Terence* are aſcribed.

*Tu quoque tu in summis, O dimidiate Menander,*
*Poneris, & merito, puri sermonis amator,*
*Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis*
*Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore*
*Cum Græcis, neque in hac despectus parte jaceres:*
*Unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi deesse Terenti.*

That is to say, "And thou, half *Menander*, thou art "justly placed in the rank of the greatest Poets, for "the elegance of thy language: And I wish, that "the sweetness of thy stile were accompanied with "that spirit Comedy requires, that thy merit might "equal that of the *Greeks*, and that thou hadst not "been much inferior to other Poets in this part. "But this spirit is wanting, and it grieves me that "it is so."

MANY Critics have understood the *Vis Comica* that *Cæsar* here speaks of, to mean more particularly the liveliness of the action and the spirit of the Drama, in which they say *Terence* is much PLAUTUS's inferior. But I cannot be of his opinion: for I think it appears upon enquiry, that *Terence* generally improved the Plays he translated from the *Greek* by interweaving an underplot, to make the action more full and diverting. *Quintilian* is not satisfied with the *Roman* Comedy, and we know the nature of his subject, eloquence, led him to treat of the stile chiefly. He acknowledges (*Inst. Orat.* Lib. 10. Cap. 1.) that *Varro*'s opinion, as we have already seen, favour'd PLAUTUS; but he does not seem to join with him. Proceeding to *Terence*, he agrees with *Cæsar* in allowing his stile to be elegant and polite; but finds not the Attic Urbanity; and from hence proceeds to conclude, that he despairs of ever seeing the Attic Urbanity expressed in *Latin:* what can we infer from hence, but that PLAUTUS in his opinion might have wit, but his language had not yet attained the last correctness and elegance, which he must indeed allow *Terence*'s had, but wanted spirit, *Salem Atticam*, Salt or Wit: for he does not contradict *Varro*'s commendation of PLAUTUS, but says, "I think we "are

" are deficient ſtill in the ſtile of our Comedies;" though *Varro* has ſaid, the Muſes would ſpeak in PLAUTUS's manner, had they ſpoke *Latin*. It is plain *Quintilian* thinks they had between them both what was united in *Menander*'s ſtile, who was the perfection of the Attic wit and elegance. This great Critic adds ſomething about the numbers of *Terence*, which is well worth our notice. " *Terence*'s Poetry (ſays " he) would have been much more agreeable, had " he kept to the Senarian or Trimeter Iambic mea- " ſure." I do not pretend to explain this particular beauty, which *Terence* wanted: The curious Reader may conſult a *Hare* or a *Bentley* in this nice particular. But I cannot but obſerve from hence, that this is a corroborating proof of what has been laid down as a certainty in the introduction, that the antients were very careful to acquire an exact taſte and a nice ear to judge of harmony and numbers. If we ſuppoſe that by neglecting the Trimeter meaſure, *Terence*'s verſes were too proſaic, it will juſtify *Horace*'s condemning PLAUTUS's meaſures, which were yet more neglected, and ſo more grating to the delicate ear of the *Auguſtan* age.

WE have now gone through with our examination and cenſure of the ſtile and meaſure of PLAUTUS; let us ſee if we can fare better with reſpect to the Dramatic part of his character. That he is lively and entertaining, and haſtening with his characters to the winding up of the Play, is what *Horace* has allowed him to be, after the manner of *Epicharmus:*

*Plautus ad Exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,*
Epiſt. 1. Lib. 2.

THIS *Epicharmus* was ſcholar of *Pythagoras*, and flouriſhed in *Sicily* in the time of *Servius Tullius*. *Plato* is ſaid to have made great improvements by the reading his Comedies. This Poet was baniſhed by *Hiero* King of *Sicily* for having ſpoken too freely of the Queen his wife. *Ariſtotle* in his poeſies mentions the claim the *Sicilians* made to precedency in point

point of time, for the invention and improvement of Comedy, and ſeems to allow their pretenſions were juſt. *Horace* (Epiſt. 1. Lib. 2.) has afterwards ſpoken ſo dubiouſly of our Author with reſpect to his characters, that ſome interpret it praiſe, whilſt *Dacier* maintains it to have been a cenſure. The latter ſeems more probable, ſince *Horace*'s deſign in that place is to ſhew the great difficulty there is to write a good Comedy from the example of the beſt Poets, who have failed in ſome particulars. And indeed PLAUTUS ſeems to have over-charged ſome of his characters, and neglected others; which *Horace* is willing to attribute to the Poet's haſte in compoſing to get his money: though it does not ſo clearly appear, whether *Horace* has applied this avaricious character to PLAUTUS and *Dorſennus*, or to the latter only.

THERE is another objection made to PLAUTUS's conduct in the Drama, which is, that he often makes his actors interrupt the action to addreſs his audience, or makes them in the character of the Prologue give an account of the plot and ſubject of the following Play. The former I think is too abſurd to be defended, though it has been alledged, he did it in imitation of the Old or Middle Comedy, and that it was the general practice: At beſt it was a vicious complaiſance for his audience, and his beſt Plays are free from it. As to the ſecond part of the charge, it may be obſerved in his juſtification, that as his Plots are often cloſe and intricate, thoſe explanatory Prologues, that now ſeem ſo tedious to us, might be very agreeable to his audience, who were much aſſiſted by ſuch a previous inſtruction. That it leſſened their pleaſure by ſatisfying their curioſity before-hand in diſcovering the unravelling of the Plot and the other principal incidents before the Play began, muſt be acknowledged, and *Terence*'s manner to be more agreeable and ingenious: Yet on the other hand, it ſpares thoſe long narratives in the Play, which are ſometimes neceſſary to be made to give the audience the preparatory knowledge that they may underſtand

the ſequel, ſuch as that of *Simo* in the *Andrian* of *Terence:* The ſtory is admirably well told I confeſs, but that is due to *Terence*'s diligence and fine genius, and does not take off the general force of the objection. So confidants are neceſſary characters in Tragedy, to enable the Poets handſomly to acquaint the audience with what is in agitation, more than to carry on the action of the Drama. This is not offered with a deſign to approve PLAUTUS's method, which he has himſelf oftentimes found unneceſſary, but to hint rather at ſome of the motives which might have probably induced the Poet to this practice: To which we may add this other conſideration, That as the arts were but then in their infancy at *Rome*, the people's fancy was yet heavy and ſlow in apprehending, and conſequently inſenſible of the many refinements in theatrical Entertaiments, which the enſuing conqueſt of *Greece* and *Aſia* ſoon after introduced among them. In twenty years time, the ſmalleſt interval that can be allowed between the laſt of PLAUTUS's and the firſt of *Terence*'s Plays, many alterations might be and were made for the better, in a people ſo well diſpoſed as the *Romans* then appeared to be for improvements of all kinds. Then flouriſhed *Paulus Æmilius*, whoſe noble example in the compleat education he gave his children, had a general influence among the Patricians. *Cato*'s was but a ſingle voice for baniſhing the eloquent ambaſſadors of *Greece*, whoſe diſcourſes were liſtened to by the generous *Roman* youth, like that of a voice from Heaven, bidding them cultivate Philoſophy and all the pleaſing arts of peace. It was not any averſion to the Muſes that animated the Cenſor's zeal on this occaſion; he himſelf had too much learning and eloquence to be an enemy to either, and was cotemporary with our Author, and is ſaid to have ſtudied the *Greek* tongue in his old age: but as he ſuppoſed it to be a juſt obſervation, that luxury and diſſolution of manners too often attend a learned people, as the *Roman* Satiriſt obſerves of the *Greeks*,

*Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes, Græculus esuriens in cælum jusseris ibit.*

This made *Cato* unwilling to countenance these refinements. But to return to PLAUTUS and *Terence*. The latter had an undoubted advantage, when he composed his pieces at a Villa of *Scipio* or *Lelius*; whereas poor PLAUTUS was forced to make some at the Mill. But though his necessitous circumstances might hasten the birth of some of his productions, the vivacity of the offspring argues the strength of that wit that could form them so well notwithstanding their hasty birth. If *Terence*'s were more mature and timely, he may thank the happiness of the times at least as much as his own genius for it. So *Virgil* has surpassed *Homer* in some respects, which must be thought owing to the same advantages. Yet *Homer* will ever maintain the precedency as to natural accomplishments. The Critics observe, that *Terence* has imitated PLAUTUS as closely as ever *Virgil* did *Homer*, and it must be owned with the same good judgment and success.

SINCE we are entered upon it, let us carry on the parallel between our two Dramatic Poets a little farther. *Plautus*'s sentences have a peculiar smartness in them, that conveys the thought with clearness, and strikes the imagination strongly; so that the mind listens with attention and retains it with pleasure. This makes his Dialogue more interesting, though less laboured than that of *Terence*. In short, *Plautus* is more gay, *Terence* more chaste. The first has more genius and fire, the latter more manners and solidity. *Plautus* excells in low Comedy and Ridicule, *Terence* in drawing just characters and maintaining them to the last. Their plots are both artful, but *Terence*'s is more apt to languish, whilst *Plautus*'s spirit maintains the action with vigour. His invention was greatest, *Terence*'s art and management. *Plautus* gives the stronger, *Terence* a more elegant delight: *Plautus* appears the better Comedian of the two, as *Terence* the

finer Poet. The former has more compaſs and variety, the latter more regularity and truth in his characters, *Plautus* ſhone moſt on the Stage, *Terence* pleaſes beſt in the cloſet. Men of a refined taſte would prefer *Terence.* *Plautus* diverted both *Patrician* and *Plebeian.*

After this compariſon, let the reader beſtow the Lawrel where he thinks it beſt deſerved.

I ſhould now proceed to give an account of his ſeveral Plays, of the time of their being acted, how far he was a tranſlator of the *Greek* Poets, and what improvements he made from his own genius. But there are no titles at the head of his Comedies to give us any light into this matter, as we find to *Terence*'s; nor have we thoſe books of *Varro,* which being written upon *Plautus*'s works only, very probably would have ſatisfied our curioſity in theſe matters. However we may take a curſory view of his Comedies in the order they are now printed, contenting ourſelves with ſuch little hints as the Poet has himſelf afforded us in the Prologues; and taking in ſuch other helps as may be had from *Cicero* or *Gellius.*

The 1ſt is *Amphitryo*; which *Moliere*'s and *Dryden*'s imitations have made pretty well known. The *Frenchman* has done *Plautus* moſt juſtice. We do not find whether this Comedy is of *Plautus*'s invention or a tranſlation. He calls it a Tragi-Comedy, not that there is any thing tragical in the ſubject, but becauſe the principal characters are Gods and Princes. *Euripedes* wrote an *Amphitryo* and *Archippus,* two Plays of this name. How far *Plautus* was beholden to them for his incidents, is uncertain.

The 2d is *Aſinaria,* the Aſs-Driver, tranſlated from the *Greek* of *Demophilus,* a writer of the Middle Comedy. *Plautus* aſſures his audience it is elegant and does not want for wit and humour.

The 3d is *Aulularia,* the Caſket: *Moliere*'s Avare, and *Wicherly*'s Miſer, are copies of this Play. Whence *Plautus* has taken it, it is no where ſaid; though it is pretty certain he had it, as indeed almoſt all his Plays, from the *Greek* Poets.

The

THE 4th is *Captivi*, the Captives. The Poet pretends to have taken particular care in writing it, both as to ſtile and ſentiments, and that the characters are uncommon.

THE 5th is the Diſcovery, or *Curculio*, from the name of the paraſite. This Play having no Prologue, we muſt paſs on to the next.

THE 6th *Caſina*, the name of a female ſlave; in *Greek* it was called Κληρούμενοι, *Sortientes*, caſting Lots. The Prologue to this Comedy ſeems not to be of *Plautus*'s making, but of the principal actor, who revived it after the Poet's death. This Prologue farther obſerves, that when it was firſt brought on the ſtage it met with great applauſe. "* This (adds he) "and the favour you have ſhewn to all *Plautus*'s Co- "medies, encouraged me to revive the *Caſina*." It is a great pity we cannot aſcertain the time of this revival of the *Caſina*; the ſooneſt we can ſuppoſe it, muſt be in *Terence*'s time, becauſe *Plautus* died

* *Qui utuntur vino vetere ſapientes puto,*
*Et qui libenter veteres ſpectant Fabulas;*
*Antiqua opera & verba quum vobis placent*
*Æquum placere eſt ante veteres fabulas.*
*Nam nunc novæ quæ prodeunt Comœdiæ*
*Multo ſunt nequiores quam nummi novi.*
*Nos poſtquam populi rumorem intelleximus*
*Studioſe expetere vos Plautinas fabulas,*
*Antiquam illius edimus Comediam,*
*Quam vos probaſtis, qui eſtis in ſenioribus.*
*Nam juniorum qui ſunt non norunt ſcio,*
*Verum ut cognoſcant dabimus operam ſedulo.*
*Hæc quum primum acta eſt vicit omnes fabulas,*
*Ea tempeſtate flos Poetarum fuit*
*Qui nunc abierunt hinc in communem locum.*

*Quam vos probaſtis qui eſtis in ſenioribus.* This Verſe ſhews that it could not be above thirty years after the firſt acting of the Play in *Plautus*'s life time, becauſe the old men, who ſate now ſpectators (ſays the Prologue) were judges of its goodneſs when they ſaw it acted before. Here we find *Plautus* declared by the Player to the whole audience the beſt Poet of his time. *Ea tempeſtate flos Poetarum fuit, qui nunc abierunt hinc in communem locum.* And the very firſt lines put an equal value on their judgment, who chuſe old wine and prefer old Plays. And another verſe obſerves, That their new Plays were worſe than their new Money.

young, and was survived by most of the Poets of his time, who are said in this Prologue to have been all dead some time before the revival of the *Casina*.

THE 7th, *Cistellaria*, the Basket: The Prologue of this Play comes in at the end of the first Act, and is the God *Auxilium*, Help. Having given an account of the subject as usual, he concludes, bidding the *Romans* to overcome the *Carthaginians*, and punish them as they deserved. This seems to prove the Play to have been acted before the end of the second *Punic* War, which was in the Year of *Rome* 552. This must therefore have been the first of *Plautus*'s Plays; for he died *A. U.* 570. (*Cicero in Bruto.*) so that he lived not above eighteen years after his writing the *Cistellaria*, supposing it to have been acted the eighteenth year of the *Punic* war, that is, within one year of the end of it: and as the *Romans* hardly began to have a taste for learning 'till after this war was ended, the general ignorance of the audience when this Play was acted must be some apology for the absurdity of this God's speaking a Prologue, at a time when the Poet had no real occasion for him; and if the audience wanted to be let into the subject, the common Prologue might have done as well. True, but then *Plautus* could not have made so handsome a compliment to his countrymen on their valour, their justice, *&c.* as he does in the character of the God, and at the same time encourage them to pursue their victories over the *Carthaginians*. This reflection turns the seeming absurdity to the Poet's Honour; and as to his coming in at the close of the 1st act, it is consistent with the liberties of the Middle Comedy, which *Plautus* in his first pieces chiefly imitated.

THE 8th, *Epidicus*, the Litigious: This was one of our Poet's favourite Comedies, as he says himself in the character of *Chrysalus*, Act. 2. Scene 2. of the *Bacchides*; and by its having no introductory Prologue may be thought to have been one of the last.

THE 9th, *Bacchides*, so called from two sisters that

that are the chief characters in it. The Comedy is not inferior to any of *Plautus*'s but has no Prologue.

The 10th, *Mostellaria*, the Ghost, has been imitated by the *French* and us. *Johnson*'s Alchymist is partly copied from it. This has no Prologue.

The 11th, *Menæchmi*, the Twins, has also been copied by writers of both nations. *Shakespeare*'s Comedy of Errors is in imitation of it. In the Prologue *Plautus* observes, that the Poets, to make their Plays seem to be taken from the *Greek*, chose to lay the scene at *Athens*. "His subject is *Greek* too "(adds the Poet) but the subject is from *Sicily* at "*Syracuse*, though the scene is at *Epidamnus*." From whence we may observe, that *Greek* Comedies translated were most acceptable to the *Romans* in *Plautus*'s time, and they seem to have been so in *Terence*'s, or he would not have been at the pains to translate them.

The 12th, *Miles Gloriosus*, the Bragging Captain: *Terence* has copied the character of his *Thraso* in the Eunuch from hence. This Play is without a Prologue, and is reckoned an excellent Comedy. The character of *Periplectomenes*, an old Batchelor that helps to bubble the foolish Captain, is very humorous and original.

The 13th, *Mercator*, the Merchant; translated from the *Greek* of *Philemon*. The Prologue is spoken by *Charinus*, who is the merchant, and the principal character of the Play. The reflections, which *Charinus* intermixes with the account of the subject, shew the sense the Antients had of the disadvantage of their loose morals, which we are but too apt to imitate and encourage on our Stage, under the notion of modern gallantry. One may wonder to meet with so much morality in *Plautus*'s Plays, considering the great immorality of their principles as well as practice, and the infant state of learning and philosophy at *Rome*.

The 14th, *Pseudolus*, the Cheat. This was a favourite Piece of *Plautus*'s, according to * *Cicero*, and

* Cato Major; sive de Senectute.

has

has been varioufly imitated by the modern Poets: I fhall here take occafion to obferve from the Prologue, that the *Roman* tafte was then fomething like ours under King *James* I. Many of *Plautus*'s Prologues have a fpice of falfe wit, as well as many of the characters of his flaves and parafites. But the Prologue to this Comedy, gives no account of the fubject, and is only addreffed to the audience to recommend the Play to their favour. In order to fucceed, the Poet runs on for a dozen lines together in a ftrain of quibbling upon the words *bonus* and *malus:* After this follow fome fix or feven lines extreamly witty upon full bellies and empty ftomachs. I think it muft be granted our Poet had fenfe enough not to trifle fo ftrangely, without knowing it was fuitable to the general tafte of the People; though *Plautus* certainly wrote too faft to write always correctly, or think of mending the publick tafte: And his avarice might be the great inducement of his writing perhaps more than fame. This is the opinion of *Horace:*

*——Afpice Plautus*
*Quo pacto partes tutetur amantis Ephebi,*
*Ut patris attenti lenonis ut infidiofi,*
*Quantus fit Dorfennus edacibus in parafitis;*
*Quam non aftricto percurrat pulpita focco.*
*Geftit enim nummum in loculos demittere, poft hoc*
*Securus cadat an recto ftet fabula talo.*
Epift. 1. Lib. 2. Ver. 170.

Therefore our Poet feems to have had his prefent intereft more than his future reputation in view; he little regarded what after ages might think fit to cenfure, when the general tafte fhould be altered. That we find *Terence* fo free with this low humour, fo far beyond his cotemporaries, and indeed moft that came after him, I think we may very juftly attribute to the excellent education his noble Patron gave him, and the happy familiarity he contracted with thofe great men who were fufpected to have fo much affifted him in his writings. On the other hand, *Plautus*'s birth and

and education were, it is likely, very mean; and nothing but great ſtrength of natural genius could have attained the elegance he was maſter of. Add to this, that we cannot ſay whether this ſame vein of low wit did not prevail in thoſe *Greek* Poets, whom he tranſlated. *Terence* had this farther advantage, that he formed himſelf upon *Menander*, whereas *Plautus* chiefly followed the Poets of the Middle Comedy, whoſe manner was reckoned much inferior to *Menander*'s, whom even *Terence* is ſaid to have but imitated by halves.

The 15th is *Pœnulus*, the *Carthaginian:* In his Prologue *Plautus* calls it *the Uncle*. The *Greek name* was Καρχηδώνιος; the Poet from whom it was tranſlated is not named. The remains of the *Punic* language, that have been corruptly preſerved in the copies of this Play, have found good work for the Critics to reſtore them to the true reading, and are eſteemed a very curious Piece of Antiquity. From the Plot of this Play we have this farther hint, that the Children of the *Carthaginians* were often ſtolen from their Parents, and carried away and ſold for ſlaves in other Countries. Hiſtory ſpeaks of the *Numidians*, as a people who lived by continual depredations of this kind; and in this manner we may probably ſuppoſe *Terence* to have been ſtolen when a child from *Carthage*, and ſold to *Terentius* the *Roman* Senator.

The 16th is *Perſa*, the name of a ſlave in the Play; here is no Prologue to ſhew from whence this Comedy was trranſlated.

The 17th is *Rudens*, the *Cable*, but might more properly be called the *Happy Shipwreck*. This Comedy is tranſlated from the *Greek* of *Diphilus*, as the Prologue informs us, which is ſpoken by the God or Conſtellation *Arcturus*; whoſe heliacal riſing and ſetting the Antients reckoned ſtormy.

The 18th *Stichus*, a ſlave's name in the Play. Or from the ſubject, this Comedy may be called the *Triumphs of Conjugal Love*. Here is no Prologue.

The 19th *Trinummus*, the *Hidden Treaſure*; the

Prologue

Prologue is ſpoken in the characters of Luxury and Penury, who come to take poſſeſſion of the extravagant young man's houſe, who prodigally ſquanders away all his father had left him during his abſence. This Comedy is tranſlated from *Philemon* the *Greek* comic an elegiac Poet.

THE 20th and laſt is *Truculentus,* the *Churl.* This is one of thoſe Plays for which, according to *Cicero, Plautus* expreſſed the moſt value. The ſhort Prologue to it, gives no account from whence *Plautus* took it, though it is clear enough, that as they are all *Greek* ſubjects, he tranſlated this as well as the reſt, from the *Greek* comic Poets.

HAVING thus taken a brief and general view of *Plautus*'s Plays, as far as his own Works could direct us, we ſhould now enter into Particulars, and examine the Plot and conduct of his Drama in ſome one of his Comedies; and then ſet it as it were in parallel with one of *Terence*'s, thereby to enable the Reader to form a judgment of their Abilities in this moſt eſſential part of Dramatic Poetry. Though we are not ſo well able to judge of *Plautus*'s or *Terence*'s diligence or neglect in this reſpect, ſince we have not the *Greek* Plays extant that they tranſlated, and ſo not knowing what they took from, or what they altered in them, we can but imperfectly determine whether they altered with more or leſs judgment in this reſpect. Yet, notwithſtanding this impediment, it is hoped the following Examination may be of ſome Uſe and Entertainment.

### *Examination of the* Aſinaria *of* PLAUTUS.

MY reaſon for chooſing this Comedy, is not becauſe I think it one of the beſt, ſince it is rather the contrary: But if the Drama is regularly executed, and the Incidents well prepared, the Reader that is not at leiſure to examine the reſt, may fairly preſume they do not fall ſhort of it, particularly ſuch, as by the foregoing enquiry appear to have been much eſteemed by the Antients, and moſt of them

them imitated by the Moderns. Such are *Amphitryo*, *Aulularia*, *Captivi*, *Casina*, *Epidicus*, *Bacchides*, *Mostellaria*, *Menæchmi*, *Miles Gloriosus*, and *Rudens*.

The Critics generally agree, that a Dramatic Poem, in order to succeed, must have one simple continued Action, the Time not to exceed twelve hours; that the Incidents be well prepared and spring from the subject. That the Dramatis Personæ should always have a necessary or probable pretence for being on the Stage, and the same for going off: That the Intervals between the Acts be filled, as serving to carry on the Action, and continue it, as much as what is done on the Stage. That the Catastrophe arise from all the Incidents together, and entirely satisfy the curiosity of the spectators. Lastly, The Poet must observe unity of Place, that is, that the Scene must not be shifted nor changed throughout the Play.

It is allowed, *Plautus* has not been so scrupulously exact as never to transgress any of these Rules. But Madam *Dacier* has proved, that the Poet has observed them all in *Amphitryo*, *Epidicus*, and *Rudens*. It would be no hard matter to shew the same of some of the rest. But to begin with the Examination of the *Asinaria*. The subject is the trick put upon a man that dealt in Apes, to get the money he brought in payment for some he had bought, to employ it in supplying the pleasures of a wild young fellow. The Incidents are the exclusion of this young fellow from his mistress's house, for want of money; his father's loving the same woman: the troublesome and imperious temper of his mother, who on account of the great fortune she brought, governs the whole house: the absence of her principal slave to whom the money was due, which the dealer in Asses brought; and lastly, the mortification of a rival, who at last discovers the cheat.

The Time does not exceed eight hours; beginning but a little before noon, to give the dealer time to come from the Country; and it ends before night, for it is said, (Sc. 2. Act 4.) that the Entertainment, in

in which the Cataſtrophe happens, is to be given by day-light. The Place muſt be ſuppoſed an open Place near the old man's and the curtezan's houſes, with this difference, that the latter ſhould be fronting, and at the lower end of the ſtage. I muſt begin by obſerving, that the moral of this and ſome other of *Plautus*'s Comedies is abominable, though the ſubject of many of our *Engliſh* Comedies that are much eſteem'd, reſemble it too much. Perhaps the ignorance of the Antients may deſerve our pity, but what excuſe can we plead for the Immorality of our Stage?

*Act* 1. *Sc.* 1. opens with *Demenetus*, the old Gentleman and his ſervant *Libanus*. They may be ſuppoſed to have been talking together before they came on the Stage. The man is uneaſy, and fears his maſter is going to ſend him to work in the mill, perhaps for ſome fault he had done, which makes him very earneſt to find out what the old Gentleman would be at; at laſt *Demenetus* rids *Libanus* of his fears, by telling him he knows his ſon's Intrigues, and inſtead of blaming him, is willing to promote them. To hide his own ſcandalous deſign, he pretends the fondneſs of a father, is the reaſon of this complaiſance. Having thus ſecured *Libanus*, and given him leave to get the money his ſon wanted, where he could, they ſeparate.

*Sc.* 2. *Argyrippus*, the old man's ſon, who was forbid the Curtezan's houſe for want of money, comes on the Stage lamenting his misfortune. He complains bitterly of the old Baud her mother, and of the Curtezan, and reſolves to be revenged. But love ſoon helps him to excuſes for the daughter, ſo that he is determined to wreck his whole vengeance on the Mother. As he is in this reſolution, he ſees the Baud coming out of her houſe, and reſolves to ſpeak to her.

*Sc.* 3. Their Converſation ſhews the pernicious maxims of thoſe creatures. It ends by making up the quarrel, upon condition, that for a ſum of money *Argyrippus* ſhall have the Curtezan to himſelf for a year. Upon this, *Argyrippus* goes to get the money on

on any terms; and this makes the Interval between the first and fecond Act. Befides, *Libanus*, inftead of feeking for the money, as he was ordered, had fallen afleep; and the dealer in Affes comes and enquires for *Demenetus*, but not finding him, goes to the public Baths, waiting for his return.

*Act* 2. *Sc.* 1. *Libanus* opens the fcene; waking in a furprize, he recollects what he had to do: Whilft he is preparing to undertake it, he fees *Leonida*, another fervant of the family coming in a hurry, and almoft out of breath: he fteps a little afide, not to be difcoverd by the other who advances.

*Sc.* 2. After having told the reafon of his coming, *Libanus* appears. *Leonida* informs him, that the dealer was arrived, who brought the money in payment for the Affes. How the man afked him which was the mafter's houfe; that he had made the dealer believe he was the Baily, to whom he was to pay the money, but that the other would not give into the bite: Whilft thefe two fervants are confulting how to trick him, they fee the man coming. *Leonida*, to make fure work, runs to give his mafter *Demenetus* notice of it, and *Libanus* comes forward to give the man no room to miftruft any thing.

*Sc.* 3. The dealer opens the Scene, and knocks at *Demenetus*'s door. *Libanus* comes and amufes him till *Leonida* appears, who counterfeiting *Saurea*, the principal flave, who had authority over the other flaves, and this begins the 4th Scene.

*Sc.* 4. *Leonida* coming up to *Libanus*, begins to reprimand him for having neglected to obey fome orders he pretends to have given him, without feeming to take any notice of the dealer. After having made fport in this manner a while, he makes as if he juft perceived the dealer in Affes, and afks his bufinefs. Being informed, it was to pay the price of fome Affes that had been fold him, *Leonida* tells the man he may pay him. The other refufes it, faying, he does not know him, and that he will not pay him without *Demenetus*'s order. Thus ends the fecond Act. During

ring the Interval they find *Demenetus*, by whose direction the man pays *Leonida* the money.

*Act* 3. *Sc.* 1. *Cleareta*, and *Philenium*, her daughter, begin this Act; the mother reproaches her daughter for having ſo little regard to her inſtructions. And ſhe, who really loves *Argyrippus*, cannot reſolve to refuſe to ſee him, as her mother would have her do, becauſe he has got no money. Their converſation makes the firſt ſcene. The ſecond (*Sc.* 2.) is made by *Leonida* and *Libanus*, who make themſelves merry with the account they give of their bubbling the dealer in Aſſes of his money. Whilſt they are in the height of their joy, they perceive *Argyrippus* juſt coming out of his miſtreſs's houſe with her, and both in tears. They liſten ſome time to learn the cauſe of their ſorrow, and after having been witneſſes to their mutual tenderneſs at parting, they come up to them (*Sc.* 3.) to give *Argyrippus* the good news of their having got him the money he wanted. But the rogues fool with him for a while before they give him the money. At length they give it him, upon condition that his father ſhall be in company with *Philenium* that night. And thus ends the 3d Scene and 3d Act. The Interval is filled up by *Leonida*, who is ſent by *Argyrippus* to invite his father to ſup with him and his miſtreſs.

*Act* 4. *Scene* 1. The 4th Act opens with *Diabolus* *Argyrippus*'s rival, and a Paraſite with him. *Diabolus*, to improve the opportunity of his rival's diſgrace, had agreed with *Cleareta* for a certain ſum, to have her daughter a year, on certain conditions drawn up in writing. He had given the Paraſite this commiſſion, who is now come, and reads him the Articles, which *Diabolus* approves, and they go out together to make the mother ſign them. Here ſeems to be a Scene wanting, for *Diabolus* returns (*Scene* 2.) immediately with the Paraſite, in a great fury againſt *Demenetus* and his ſon, though he does not ſeem to have had time to be informed how *Argyrippus* had made up his affairs with his miſtreſs. However, he threatens to go

and give *Demenetus*'s wife notice of his ſcandalous conduct, but the Paraſite perſuades him to let him go on that errand. Thus ends the 4th Act.

The Interval is filled up by the Paraſite's giving *Artemona* notice of her huſband's management, and her getting ready to go and ſurprize *Demenetus* with her ſon *Argyrippus* and *Philenium*.

*Act* 5. *Scene* 1. The Scene opens and repreſents the three laſt named perſons at the bottom of the Stage, juſt going to ſupper, and in the height of joy. But, unluckily for them, the Paraſite brings in *Artemona*, who ſtands a little aſide to obſerve her huſband. *Sc.* 2. At laſt, ſhe comes in tranſported with anger, and having called him all to naught, ſoon obliges him to quit the company, and go off the Stage. Then the Actors, when the Play is ended, come forward together and laugh with the audience at what had paſſed, which they are far from diſapproving. Nothing can be more immoral than this concluſion. But indeed, the heathens, in their practice eſpecially, had little regard to chaſtity, where their leudneſs did not diſturb the public peace. Fornication of all kinds, unleſs with citizens, was publicly tolerated, and that in the moſt infamous degree, as we ſee from the example before us. But that it would be wrong to argue from theſe abuſes of the ſtage againſt all dramatic entertainments in general, has been already ſhewn.

As for *Terence*'s Plays, they are generally ſo well known, that a ſhorter examination of the *Andrian* (which I chooſe as moſt regular in the Drama) will be ſufficient, without dwelling upon the minute incidents of every ſcene, as we did in *Plautus*'s *Aſinaria*, becauſe it is leſs known and read. *Donatus*, and the old critics, were content to divide the whole Play into three parts, which they called *Protaſis*, *Epitaſis*, and *Cataſtrophe*, and thus explain.

*Protaſis*, is the firſt Act, the beginning or opening of the Play.

*Epitaſis*, is the progreſs, and as it were the whole proceſs of the various errors and perplexities of the ſubject as it is carrying on.

*Cataſtrophe*,

*Cataſtrophe*, is the turn, the unravelling and clearing up of all difficulties, by a thorough diſcovery, which concludes the Play.

(*Protaſis.*) *Pamphilus* was in love with *Glycerium*, who was ſuppoſed to be a ſtranger at *Athens* where the ſcene lies, and ſiſter to *Chryſis* a Curtezan of *Andros*, but lately deceaſed at *Athens*. He had given *Glycerium* his word that he would marry her, and the intrigue was gone ſo far between them, that ſhe was with child by him. *Simo* being informed of his ſon's paſſion for this ſtranger, in order to break off the engagement, pretends a deſign of marrying him ſpeedily, and deſires he would ſhew his obedience by accepting of the wife he would chooſe for him. *Pamphilus*, who ſincerely honoured his father, and paſſionately loved *Glycerium*, was in the greateſt diſtreſs how to behave on this occaſion. His ſlave *Davus*, who had overheard the old gentleman's ſham plot, adviſes his young maſter to promiſe his father an entire obedience, from whence he could apprehend no danger, ſince it was only a counterfeit marriage. The lover, though with ſome reluctance, is perſuaded to do ſo, and promiſes to marry the perſon his father ſhould pleaſe to chooſe him.

(*Epitaſis.*) In the mean time this marriage of *Pamphilus* began to be talked of abroad, ſo that *Glycerium* came to hear of it, and through the violence of her grief at the news, being near her time, falls in labour, and is delivered of a boy. *Simo*, now he had got his Son's conſent, which was above his expectation, began ſeriouſly to think of marrying him in earneſt; and accordingly breaks the matter to his friend *Chremes*, who readily accepts the propoſal of marrying his daughter *Philumena* to *Pamphilus*. The lovers affairs now ſeemed deſperate; he had conſented, and his father was for haſtening the wedding. Upon this, *Davus*, whoſe indiſcreet zeal had brought his maſter into theſe perplexities, endeavours to deter *Chremes* from the marriage, giving him to underſtand, that *Pamphilus* was in love already with another

perſon,

person, by whom he had a son, which was true. This stratagem partly succeeds and makes *Chremes* hesitate.

(*Catastrophe.*) But *Simo* so earnestly presses him to give his daughter, that at last all his scruples are removed, and *Pamphilus* finds himself as much embarrassed as before; when luckily *Crito*, a stranger of *Andros*, comes to *Athens*, as being next heir to *Chrysis* the Curtezan lately deceased, the reputed sister of *Glycerium*. *Simo* at first supposes him suborned by his son to interrupt the marriage; but at length *Crito* discovers to *Chremes* and him, that *Glycerium* was not related to *Chrysis*, but really a daughter of *Chremes*, whom he had for many years looked upon as lost. *Philumena* is married to her first lover *Charinus*, whose character is a foil to the merit of his friend *Pamphilus*, as the dulness of his man *Byrrhia* sets off *Davus*'s subtilty and contrivances.

By this sketch the reader will be inclined to judge, that the turn of PLAUTUS's Plays is more to ridicule and humour, as that of *Terence*'s is to politeness, and to move the affections: and whoever could happily unite the genius of these two, would be able to write a compleat Comedy; which, as being concerned to represent the passages of common life, has, by a wrong and hasty judgment, often been presumed to be an easy task for a Poet of common abilities. But *Horace* was long since of another opinion, for the same reason that persons of less reflection judged it so easy, namely, because it is only conversant with the occurrences of common life; for this not only makes it much easier for the generality to judge if a character is well expressed, if the dialogue is natural and well turned, and the plot well laid and happily executed; but makes every person expect to find more perfection in the whole performance than is generally in the power of most writers to give it. From this great mistake of ours, we are as liberal of our censure as sparing of applause, and condemn every error, which we think might have been mended with so little trouble to the Poet.

*Creditur, ex medio quia res arceſſit, habere*
*Sudoris minimum; ſed habet Comedia tanto*
*Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus*——

Epiſt. ad AUGUST. ver. 168.

THE ... ARROWMAHAL

# THE LIFE OF *TERENCE*.

TERENCE was born in the year of *Rome* 560, about nine years before the death of *Plautus*, eight years after the end of the ſecond Punic war, when learning began to flouriſh among the *Romans*. They had now ſubdued though not deſtroyed *Carthage*, and by the overthrow of the *Macedonian* Kingdom had partly conquered *Greece*. This was the ſtate of affairs about the time of TERENCE's captivity: ſo that the politer arts and ſciences began to meet with encouragement, and *Paulus Æmilius*, who was a friend to them, ſet a noble example to the other Patricians by the liberal education he gave his children, which *Plutarch* particularly mentions in his life.

WHETHER TERENCE was of mean or noble parentage, whether an *African* in general, or a *Carthaginian*, is uncertain; though it ſeems more likely he

he might be a *Carthaginian* of a good family, and made captive in the wars the *Carthaginians* continually had with the *Numidians* and other neighbouring nations. The *Romans* ſent their deputies at three different times to compoſe theſe differences between the *Numidians* and *Carthaginians*; at one of which it is moſt likely ſome of them might purchaſe our Author among the other ſlaves that were ſold. He fell into the hands of a generous maſter, *Terentius Lucanus*, a *Roman* Senator, who was ſo taken with the early marks he diſcovered in his young ſlave of a bright genius, that he gave him the advantage of a good education to improve it; and ſoon after, by giving him his liberty, put him in a way of raiſing his fortune by it.

His merit ſoon recommended him to the acquaintance and familiarity of the chief Nobility; and particularly to the friendſhip of *Scipio Æmilianus*, ſon of the aforeſaid *P. Æmilius*, and adopted by the ſon of the elder *Scipio Africanus*. This nobleman was about nine years younger than our Author, but he had bravely diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars at ſeventeen years of age, and we have already obſerv'd above, how well his father brought him up. He was the hero of the age, and compleated the deſtruction of *Carthage* ſome years after Terence's death. *Lælius*, ſon of the great *Lælius*, ſo intimate with the elder *Africanus*, was as intimate with the younger *Scipio* and our author; whoſe enemies were glad to give out that his Plays were compoſed by theſe noblemen, in order to leſſen his growing credit. *Furius* was another of Terence's Patrons, but his merit is leſs known; though he is mentioned by Terence's enemies as one of the greateſt men in *Rome*. In his Prologue to the *Adelphi*, Terence does not ſo much as offer to refute the calumny; but *Suetonius* obſerves it was done to pay his court to thoſe great men, who perhaps might not be diſpleaſed at the report; and indeed in the Prologue to the *Heautontimorumenos*, Terence deſired the audience not

to credit the ſlanderous reports of his brother writers:

*Ne plus iniquùm poſſit, quàm æquùm, oratio.*

*Suetonius* adds a ſtory of *Cornelius Nepos* to this purpoſe. "That the firſt of *March*, which was the "feaſt of the *Roman* Ladies, *Lælius* being deſired by "his wife to ſup a little ſooner than ordinary, he "prayed her not to diſturb him; and that coming "very late to ſupper that night, he ſaid he had never "compoſed any thing with more pleaſure nor ſuc-"ceſs; and being aſked by the company what it "was, he repeated ſome verſes out of the 3d Scene "of the 4th Act of *the Self-Tormentor.*" All Commentators are agreed, that theſe verſes are extremely fine. This report did not leſſen after our Author's death; for *Valgius*, a Poet contemporary with *Horace*, ſays as much in poſitive terms;

*Hæ, quæ vocantur Fabulæ, cujus ſunt?*
*Non has, qui jura populis, recenſens dabat*
*Honore ſummo affectus fecit Fabulas?*

The Plays however were certainly TERENCE's; not but that thoſe gentlemen might be diverted ſometimes by compoſing ſome Scenes for a Poet, whom they ſo familiarly converſed with.

THE *Andrian* does not ſeem to have been TERENCE's firſt piece; the very Prologue to the Play ſeems to intimate the contrary, and the circumſtances *Suetonius* mentions about TERENCE's reading it firſt to the Poet *Cæcilius*, prove the *Andrian* not to be the firſt piece, and that *Suetonius* has miſtaken the name of the Play; for *Cæcilius* died two years before the *Andrian* was brought on the Stage. *Voſſius* therefore pretends to correct the words of *Suetonius*, and inſtead of *Cæcilius* reads *Acilius*, who was one of the Ædiles: but there is no likelihood of this, it being abſurd to ſuppoſe the Ædiles would take the trouble to examine a Play privately firſt, ſince they had it always acted before them, before it was brought on the Stage. *Cæcilius* was the beſt Poet of the age,

and

and *Segeditus* has given him the preference to all the comic Poets. *Horace* makes him excel in the dignity of his ſentiments, and *Varro* in the diſpoſition of his ſubject. He was near fourſcore when our Poet offered his firſt Play; and being unacquainted with TERENCE, it is ſaid, that when he waited on him by the Ædiles order, who had deſired to have *Cæcilius*'s judgment before he received the Play, the old gentleman being at table, bid our young author take a ſtool and begin to read it to him. It is obſerv'd by *Suetonius*, that TERENCE's dreſs was but mean, ſo that his outſide did not much recommend him. But he had not gone through the firſt Scene, when *Cæcilius* invited him to ſit at table with him, deferring the reading of the reſt of the Play 'till after ſupper. This was a proof of TERENCE's merit, and *Cæcilius*'s good diſcernment and generoſity. When he had heard the Play read throughout, he was charmed with the beauties of it, and commended the author as he deſerved, With this advantage and approbation did TERENCE's firſt Play appear on the ſtage, when TERENCE could not be twenty-five; for the *Andrian* was acted when he was but twenty-ſeven years of age, 166 years before CHRIST. The *Hecyra* was acted the year following; the Self-Tormentor, *Heautontimorumenos*, two years after that: The *Eunuch*, two years after the other: The *Phormio*, the latter end of the ſame year; and the year afterwards the *Adelphi* or Brothers was acted, before Chriſt 160, when TERENCE was thirty-three years of age.

AFTER this *Terence* went into *Greece*, where he ſtaid about a year, in order as it is thought to collect ſome of *Menander*'s Plays. He fell ſick on his return from thence, and died at ſea according to ſome, others ſay it was at *Stymphalis* a town in *Arcadia*, whither he put back from ſea, before he was quite thirty-five years of age.

ACCORDING to this account, we cannot have loſt above one or two of *Terence*'s Plays: for it is ridiculous to credit what *Suetonius* reports from one *Conſentius*, an antient Author, of whom we find no men-

tion elsewhere, that *Terence* was returning with above an hundred of *Menander*'s Plays, which he had translated, but that he lost them by shipwreck, and that he died of grief for this loss.

*Terence* was of a middle size, very slender, and of a dark complection. He was married and left a daughter behind him, who was afterwards married to a *Roman* Knight. *Terence* left her a house and gardens on the *Appian* Way, near the Villa *Martis*. So that it seems very strange his enemies should give out that he died very poor. The friendship of those great men he so much conversed with, must have procured him some advantages. He received 8000 Sesterces for his *Eunuch* the first time it was acted; and was no doubt well paid for the rest: for it appears from the Prologue to the *Hecyra* or Step-mother, that the Poets used to be paid every time their Play was acted, and that the *Ædiles* employed the principal Actor or Head of the Company to agree with the author about the price. At this rate *Terence* must have made a handsome fortune before he died; for most of his Plays were acted more than once in his life time. The *Hecyra* we have been speaking of was brought twice upon the Stage and interrupted, so that not above one Act had been represented. The Poet here suffered in his reputation, but his purse was the better for it, as he says himself in the first Prologue, and in the second Prologue, spoken when it was brought the third time on the Stage; *Ambivius Turpio*, after having in a handsome manner requested the Attention of the Audience, desires for his sake they would hear the Play out; hinting as if he were ready to reimburse the Magistrate the money he had paid the Poet, in case the Piece did not take; which seems reasonable, since the Ædiles purchased it on his judgment, and at a price agreed on between the Poet and him, the chief Actor. The *Eunuch* was acted twice in one day.

WE are now come to consider him more particularly with respect to his Plays that are extant, and his Character as a Dramatic Writer. It were endless to mention

mention the Teſtimonies of the antients in his favour, or the many fine things ſaid of him by modern Commentators and Critics. His chief excellency conſiſts in theſe three points: The beauty of his characters, the politeneſs of his dialogue, and the regularity of his ſcene. I ſhall not inſiſt on a particular compariſon between him and *Plautus*, which we have done already in the Life of that Poet. The firſt thing wherein he ſurpaſſes all other comic Poets without exception, is the beauty of his Characters; in which *Plautus* has often groſly failed. In *Terence*, the Characters are maintained throughout the whole Play. *Varro* himſelf gives the palm to our Author for the manners. *In Argumentis Cæcilius poſcit Palmam, in Ethesin Terentius.* A general knowledge of the world is not ſufficient to attain this excellency. You muſt know all the ſecret ſprings that move the ſoul, and find out the progreſs of every incident in affecting the mind. It is objected, that *Terence* could not expreſs the paſſions ſtrongly: But it was not his buſineſs, and Comedy is the more difficult on that account, as requiring a greater experience of the humours and inclinations of men.

The manners, according to *Ariſtotle*, may be expreſſed theſe three ways; either by deſcribing men as they are, or making them worſe or better. The former, as leaving leaſt to fancy, ſeems moſt difficult, and more ſuitable to good Comedy. Tragedy makes men better or worſe than they commonly are, as well as Epic Poetry. Panegyrick makes them always better, and Satire worſe.

*Terence* reigns without a rival in this particular, that his characters are all extremely natural; you hardly ſee a thought or humour ſtrained through the Play; and hereby he ſubmits himſelf, as it were, to the judgment of every reader in every age. Where ridicule is too much affected, you cannot follow nature ſo well; you will always compoſe an abſurd character out of ſeveral real ones in life. Such a character then is a creature of the fancy, and cannot be ſo truly en-

tertaining, nor ſo improving, though by being more ridiculous it will be more diverting for a while, than one drawn after nature. This makes the grand difference between *Plautus* and *Terence*, and indeed between the middle and new Comedy of the *Greeks*.

As to the Diſpoſition of a Play, in which *Terence* is thought not to excel, I know nothing more perfect in that kind than the *Andrian*. But this does not ſeem to be ſo ſtrictly neceſſary in Comedy as Tragedy, and therefore more excuſable. As in a picture, you will often excuſe ſome fault in the diſpoſition of the whole deſign, provided all the parts are well executed, and every particular figure well drawn.

But *Terence* is ſo far from being faulty in this reſpect, that I think this regularity of the characters in *Terence* gives him another advantage over writers of *Plautus*'s genius. Wit and Humour pleaſe the mind as diſtinct from the heart or affections; but every character in *Terence* intereſts the reader, and ſtirs his affections. *Terence* firſt moves, and then pleaſes you. You feel all *Pamphilus*'s concern in the *Andrian*, find all his reflections juſt, and pity his perplexity. *Simo*'s narration in the firſt ſcene of this Play is inimitable; and a careful reading of that alone will give the intelligent reader a more laſting pleaſure than the merrieſt ſcene in *Plautus*; juſt as a fine piece of painting, after a good examination, muſt pleaſe more than the beſt groteſque piece can; though it will not ſo immediately ſtrike a vulgar eye, nor tickle the fancy ſo much. Not but that I muſt do *Plautus* that juſtice to allow that he has often very fine Scenes of a more ſerious kind; but after all, his chief talent was ridicule, and *Terence*'s the propriety of the manners.

In his Sentences again, *Plautus* is either too philoſophical or proverbial. *Terence* is prodigiouſly cautious in this reſpect, and ſuits them ſo well to his ſubject by the politeneſs of his language, that they always ſeem to riſe from the preſent occaſion on which they are ſpoken, and not to have been ſought for by the Poet.

No

No Comic Writer can be more ſcrupulouſly exact than he is, in obſerving the proper Decorum of the ſtage. The characters of his Dramatis Perſonæ are never, as in *Plautus*, and other antients, confounded with that of the Actor. While *Plautus* introduces a tedious prologue in the character of *Mercury*, to let you into the whole ſecret of the play, *Terence* moſt artfully introduces old *Simo* in the *Andrian* deliberating with his Freed-man *Soſia* how to manage *Pamphilus*, whoſe Amour with *Glycerium*, the Manner of his diſcovering it, and the other previous Circumſtances neceſſary to lead the reader into the deſign of the play, are there ſo delicately introduced and ſo clearly related; that one would never ſuſpect *Terence* intended that firſt ſcene only to inform the Audience as far as was requiſite to make them underſtand the ſequel. That other Scene again, where *Pamphilus*, to aſſure *Myſis* that he will not forſake her Miſtreſs, calls to mind the ſolemn Promiſe he made *Chryſis* on her Death-bed to be as a father, guardian, and husband to his beloved *Glycerium*; that ſcene, I ſay, is conducted with ſuch Addreſs, that it is not 'till after ſome reflection that we diſcover the Poet's art in taking this opportunity of giving the audience, who now began to grow uneaſy, and miſtruſt his Fidelity, the fulleſt aſſurance to the contrary.

THESE are ſome of the maſterly Strokes by which our Author exerts his Talent in the conduct of the Drama. We may find numberleſs Inſtances of this kind in every Play of his, wherein he did not content himſelf only to follow *Menander*, but often conſulted his own genius. For he frequently made two plays of *Menander*'s into one; moulding them together into one compleat Comedy. Finding the incidents too few in *Menander*'s Plays which he imitated, he thought it neceſſary to fill the ſcene with more characters, which obliged him ſometimes to make two into one. Some Writers jealous of his growing fame, highly blamed his conduct herein. *Terence*, in his prologue to the *Andrian*, pleads guilty to the charge; and juſtifies what he had done by the neceſſity of it, to give the

audience a compleat entertainment; and by the example of the best Poets that had preceded him.

The best modern writers for the stage, I think are agreed in the usefulness, if not necessity of an under plot, so that I need say nothing in defence or commendation of our author's practice in this particular. So to the *Eunuch*, a plot of *Terence*'s own invention, he has boldly and judiciously added the characters of the captain and parasite from the *Colax*, a Play of *Menander*'s. Without this under-plot, which is admirably interwoven with the other, every attentive reader must perceive the play would have been barren of incidents, which is now the most admired of the six, though perhaps, each has its several excellencies. *Terence* has perfectly justified himself in the Prologue, where he owns the fact as usual. " But (says he) if an author may never borrow a " character of those who have writ before him, and " adapt it to his purpose, he may as well never write, " since it would be difficult to find out any character " that had not been brought on the stage before.

*Nullum est jam dictum, quod non sit dictum prius.*

I can't help taking notice of an odd circumstance, that shews the great liberty every private man took in those public entertainments. *Lavinius*, whom *Terence* has described as a dull Poet, and a servile translator of the *Greeks*, when the *Ædile* having bought the Play, had ordered it to be acted, and had admitted this Poet as a spectator, he bawled out in the height of the representation, that *Terence* was a plagiary, and had stolen from others the two characters aforesaid. What I would observe is, that this insolence, tho' the Magistrates, who had given the Play themselves, presided at the Theatre, is no farther taken notice of in *Terence*'s prologue, than as an absurd piece of ill-nature in *Lavinius*; nor does *Terence* say that the Ædiles thought fit to punish or reprimand him for it, which he would not have failed to do, if they had, in a prologue that was spoken on purpose to expose his adversary's and justify his own conduct to the Public. I shall not justify such a sufferance of so public a breach of good manners

ners, but must, at the same time, remind the reader, if he be censoriously disposed, to consider how frequently the Action has been interrupted in our Theatres by the insolence and riot of the meanest of the audience, when persons of the first distinction, or the sovereign himself have been present.

*Terence* continued his former method in composing the *Heautontimoreumenos*, or *Self-Tormentor*. He therein had an Eye to one of *Menander*'s of the same name, but supplied the barrenness of the plot, by doubling the characters; introducing, instead of one of each, two old fellows, two young men, two mistresses, and two slaves. *Menander*'s whole play consisted in *Menedemus*'s tormenting himself for his son's absence, whom he had forced to go into the army, by his severity in not allowing him the common freedoms of the young fellows of his age. A play with no other incidents but what related to *Menedemus* and his son, *Terence* rightly judged would be too barren of entertainment, and has accordingly given it a new life by the addition of so many characters co-incident with the main plot.

A Passage in this Prologue gives me occasion to mention another distinction the *Romans* made of their Comedies, into *Stataria*, *Motoria*, and *Mixta*. The first was like the *Self-Tormentor*, with few changes of the Scene. The second, like the *Amphytrio* of *Plautus*, had many changes, and was full of Action. The last was, like the *Eunuch*, a mixture of these two.

The *Adelphi*, or *Brothers*, *Terence* composed much after the same method as he had observed in the *Heautontimorumenos*. To enliven this Play, he translated from a Play of *Diphilus*, a *Greek* comic Poet, the Characters of a young fellow taking a Curtezan by violence from a merchant of slaves. It is easy to see how many incidents arise from this one through the Play, and what a fine opportunity the Poet has hence taken to thicken his Plot, and display the contrary Characters of the two old Men the Brothers, by their behaviour on this occasion. But I have only room to suggest this hint to the Reader's notice, to

do more would be to deprive him of the pleasure of the search and the satisfaction of the discovery.

THE same detracting old Poet, continued to reproach *Terence* with his being assisted by Persons of the first Quality in composing his Plays. One would have thought our Author had here a fine opportunity of retorting upon his adversary, and shewing his inconsistency, first, in saying that persons of the greatest genius had a hand in his Pieces, and then blaming them as faulty, or stolen from others. But *Terence* knew how to keep his temper, and politely appeals to the audience, whether such a reproach must not rather turn to his praise, that persons so distinguished by their birth and actions, both at home and abroad, should condescend to bear a part with him in composing, and treat a man of his low condition with that intimacy and friendship.

*Terence* has left us no account of his manner of composing his *Phormio* and *Hecyra.* They are both imitated from the *Greeks*, and if he had found it necessary, he would have added some new Characters, as his practice was, and he had declared in the Prologue to the *Brothers*, that he intended to do.

WHY he should always choose to imitate the *Greeks*, rather than sometimes lay the Scene at *Rome*, and compose what the *Romans* called *Togatæ Fabulæ*, I shall not pretend to determine. Perhaps his genius was not so good at invention as improvement. This is known to be true not only of particular men, but whole nations, of which I dare name ours as a pregnant example. Though many other nations claim precedency for invention, none that I know of will contest our merit in improving every Art we have received from them. What *Terence* might have done, had he lived, is uncertain. It is rather to be admired, that with all the advantages he might reap by imitating the *Greeks*, he should be able to write six such finished Pieces as are yet extant of his, before thirty four years of age, and not a *Roman* by birth neither. I will here add the testimony of *Velleius*

*Paterculus,*

*Paterculus*, an Author, whose good taste was never questioned. He declares, that the *Roman* Dialogue and Urbanity attained its full perfection under *Cæcilius*, *Terence*, and *Afranius*. *Varro* indeed gives the first the preference as to the Conduct of the Stage, as *Horace* does in the Sentiments; but they both allow *Terence* inimitable in the Conduct of the Stage, as *Varro* does in the Characters. *In Argumentis Cæcilius palmam poscit: In Ethesin Terentius.* But I should choose to make *Horace* my judge in this matter, whose Art must extend to the Conduct of the Stage as well as to the beauty and propriety of the Characters, *Vincere Cæcilius gravitate Terentius Arte.* And *Paterculus*,——*Dulces Latini leporis facetiæ, per Cæcilium, Terentiumque & Afranium suppari ætate nituerunt.* To conclude these observations on this part of *Terence*'s character. His Scene, as the ingenious Mr. *Congreve* very well observed, and in one Play has particularly endeavoured to imitate him, always proceeds in a regular connection, the persons going on and off for visible reasons, and to carry on the Action of the Play. He has indeed no witty meer chit-chat in these Plays of his, nor surfeits his audience with Scenes full of repartee, simile, or gross ribaldry, nor dares absurdly to shift his Scenes from one Country to another, nor has any lame Chasms in the midst of his Acts, whereby the whole Action is for a while at a stand, to be poorly botched up again in the next Scene. If these defects are to be found in modern Performances, it is evident, the censure must fall upon the Author's want of genius, and not on the nature of a double Plot. *Terence* having incontestably proved by his practice, that an Under-plot, if well adjusted, is so far from destroying the principal design, that it carries it on with more spirit and vigour, and furnishes new incidents, without which the whole Action would be faint and heavy. Should an unskilful Artist attempt a History-piece, and commit gross mistakes in the grouping and attitude of his figures, so as many of them should seem

to

to have no Part in the grand deſign of the Piece, the Connoiſſeurs I believe would call his abilities in queſtion, without blaming the Art for his miſcarriages in the execution. From what has been obſerved, I believe the Reader will be inclinable to do our Author juſtice, and allow his talent for forming the Characters, and conducting the Drama. Which ſecond point, I think, Madam *Dacier* was too eaſy in giving up, as if ſhe miſtruſted *Terence* were deficient in this reſpect. Though perhaps, *Varro* and ſhe meant only the laying the Fable or Plan of the Play, and in which alone the learned *Roman* may have given *Cæcilius* the preference. This firſt ground-work indeed is moſt eſſential to the forming a good Tragedy. Comedy, whoſe ſuperſtructure is more light and eaſy, will bear a ſlighter foundation. If therefore Tragedy demands invention and elevation, Comedy requires more genius, penetration and exactneſs, and I may add compaſs of underſtanding. And here it is we may ſay, that nature ſeems to have led *Terence* by the hand; who, though he was ſo compleat a Maſter of polite converſation, and has filled his Comedies with ſo many fine Reflections, yet he ſo nicely diſcerns the bounds of every Character, that all that is ſaid ſeems juſt what became each perſon at that time, and in thoſe circumſtances. This is the genius that *Horace* approved of in a Poet to his taſte.

*———— Ut ſibi quivis*
*Speret idem, ſudet multum, fruſtraque laboret*
*Auſus idem* Art. Poet.

But our Author's moſt undiſputed excellency yet remains to be conſidered, the Politeneſs of his Dialogue the conſummate Elegance and Purity of his Diction.

The firſt language of Comedy was very mean and vulgar, and the Dialogue as it were ſtuffed with obſcene Wit and Ribaldry. The ſatirical Characters of ſome Perſons obnoxious to the public diſlike, thus inſolently pointed out, made up the firſt rude Eſſays of the old *Greek* Comedy at *Athens*.

THE *Romans* grew not much acquainted with the

*Greek*

*Greek* learning 'till after the reformation of the *Athenian* Stage. *Menander*, the moſt polite *Greek* comic Poet, whoſe pieces were ſo admired, that, according to *Paterculus*, they who followed him in the ſame way fell ſhort of it; him *Terence* choſe for his Model, having throughly ſtudied and improved his Manner; as we have ſhewn above. If *Terence* could not attain all his Wit and Humour, as *Julius Cæſar* ſeems to queſtion, he was confeſſedly more chaſte and correct. *Plautus*, who was not inferior to *Menander* in wit or humour, we ſee ſometimes gave too much way to his genius, and it is a queſtion whether he has not taken ſome of his witticiſms as well as good turns from the *Greek*, whom he almoſt equalled in moſt reſpects, allowing for the difference of language. The *Greek* being much more capable of turns of all kinds, and the genius of the people more gay and lively than that of the *Romans*, and at the time of *Menander*'s writing much politer than the *Romans* ever were.

*Terence* therefore, though a foreigner by birth, was by temper and education more truly *Roman* than *Plautus*. There is a dignity and gracefulneſs in his ſentiments, ſuitable to the gravity of a noble *Roman*, and it may be truly ſaid of him with reſpect to his language, that like the Graces he is often ſeen to ſmile, is ever chearful, but never breaks out into a ſtrong fit of laughter. His ſtrokes of ridicule are ſo finely expreſſed, that a vulgar eye often cannot diſcern them; upon a cloſer view they appear ſo juſt and natural, that we wonder at our own inattention, that could let them eſcape our obſervation.

AND indeed the true *Attic* Wit and *Roman* Urbanity does not ſeem ſo much to have conſiſted in what we now call Turns of Wit and Pleaſantry, as in a polite and elegant propriety of Sentiments and Diction, that ſometimes glanced upon, but ſeldom directly aimed at a ſtrong Ridicule. Such *Plato*'s writings are ſaid to be: and none that ever read them, will compare that Philoſopher's Stile and Manner to that of our Modern Wits.

This happy ſtile it was, that made *Terence*'s jealous rivals give out, That *Scipio*, *Lælius*, *Furius*, and other the greateſt Men of the Age, compoſed the greater part of thoſe Pieces, which he only father'd and uſher'd into the world as his own. Thoſe Poets could never attain the Court language, as the *French* call it. It is here worth our notice, that *Terence* has been found ſo entirely free from the *African* genius in his ſtile. The other writers of that part of the world, as many as have written in the *Roman* tongue, ſome of whom were Men of great parts and learning, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the viciouſneſs of their ſtile. It abounds in points, is flaſhy, ſwelling, broken and impure: witneſs *Apuleius*, *Capella*, and *Tertullian*. *Maurus Terentianus* is indeed ſomething better.

Hence I think it evident, that *Terence* was made a ſlave very young, and his education wholly *Roman*, ſince it is otherwiſe inconceivable how he ſhould not have ſucked in the leaſt tincture of that corrupt turn of thought and expreſſion, that ſo diſtorts the ſtile of thoſe elſe eloquent writers.

It would be too great a deviation from our ſubject to enlarge upon the difference of Genius of different Nations, which has been in ſome meaſure attempted in the Introduction to the firſt Volume: yet thus much let me add, that as the language of *Athens* was the only ſtandard of a good ſtile for many Ages among the *European Greeks*, ſo none of the *Aſiatics* (generally ſpeaking) except the *Rhodians*, could attain to a nervous and manly eloquence.

If I might dare to offer my opinion of our own comic writers on this occaſion, I ſhould think Mr. *Congreve*'s Plays excel in wit, purity of ſtile, and polite language, unleſs the Author of the *Careleſs Huſband* ſhould diſpute the firſt place with him. *Wicherly* and *Farquhar* will come next, unleſs diſputed by Sir *John Vanbrugh* or *Shadwell*. Mr. *Addiſon*'s *Drummer* is beyond any of that kind in our language, and comes neareſt to the manner of *Plautus* without his faults.

My chief view in what has been here ſaid of our Poets, is to give the *Engliſh* Reader ſome tolerable idea of *Plautus*'s and *Terence*'s ſtile, which I am afraid they cannot have from any tranſlation extant. The ſtile of an Author, which is often what characterizes him moſt, is hardeſt to expreſs in a tranſlation; I had almoſt ſaid impoſſible: For when you have done all, you can give but a faint reſemblance, by making him ſpeak, as you think he would have expreſſed himſelf had he been an *Engliſhman:* For to come nearer, would be to make a ſervile, that is, a very bad tranſlation. The Genius of Languages are ſo very unlike, as well as the many cuſtoms, and even ways of thinking, that ariſe in different times and nations, from Religion, Learning and Government, that we ought to make an Author great allowances, who has uſed his beſt endeavours to give us a good tranſlation of an antient writer: though I muſt abſolutely condemn the modernizing way of the famous *Ablancourt* who has tranſlated *Tacitus*, *Lucian*, and many other of the Antients; but was ſo full of his own thoughts, that you only read the *Frenchman* when you think to read the *Greek* or *Roman*. You have the polite *Ablancourt*'s manner, for the grave and ſententious *Tacitus*, or the cenſorious and ſneering *Lucian*.

*Populo ut placerent quas feciſſet fabulas*, was the aim of our Poet in the regulation of his Drama, and it is unqueſtionably the true teſt of a good Play when it has a great run, and pleaſes all orders of men. It may be defective in what the Critics call the Conſtitution or Fable, may exceed in point of duration of time, and ſhift the Scene too irregularly to conſiſt with critical probability; yet all this notwithſtanding I dare pronounce that a good Play, which with any or even all theſe irregularities, has pleaſed both Court and City, Town and Country. I do not ſay that an attention to the rules of good Critics is amiſs; but I will maintain, a Poet may fail in ſome or all theſe points, and yet if he be true in marking out his Characters, juſt and ingenious in his Sentiments and Dialogue,

Dialogue, polite and elegant in his Language, he will pleaſe in ſpite of the Critics and their Rules. This obſervation will hold good in Epic as well as Dramatic Poetry. *Homer*, with *Boſſu*'s leave, is not only deficient in the Fable of his Poem, which has been acknowledged by the moſt unprejudiced judges, but is often abſurd in his Characters: whether the Age he wrote in does not carry an excuſe with it for this, I ſhall not diſpute, as being out of the preſent queſtion: Yet the magnificence of his Diction, and the genuine beauty of his Sentiments, will make him the object of univerſal admiration, as long as a taſte for the politer Arts and Languages ſhall laſt among us.

It is the ſame in Painting: The beſt judges obſerve great faults in *Rubens*'s Manner and his Deſign, beſides the abſurdity of his modern Dreſſes, and the clumſy fleſhineſs of his Figures; but his colouring is ſo admirable, which is in Painting what the ſtile is in Poetry, that with all his faults he ſtands in the foremoſt rank of Artiſts, and takes place of many who are his inferiors in Colouring only.

'Tis this excellency of Diction and Dialogue that ſets *Terence* above all other Comic Writers. *Plautus* had more Wit; *Cæcilius* more ſkill in laying the Plot.

I own that our Taſte is different from that of the *Romans* in *Terence*'s time. We ſhould like his Elegance, but think him cold and ſpiritleſs: yet this ſimplicity I am perſuaded beſt ſuited the prevailing taſte of his time. There was a gravity in the character and converſation of the *Romans*, to which we are ſtrangers; but when they were come to the higheſt pitch of grandeur and magnificence I am perſuaded they quitted their antient ſimplicity of character, and in compliance with a luxurious court, took up an air of Wit and Gaiety, which ſoon degenerated into affectation: Thus we find it began to do in *Nero*'s time, as appears from the writings of the graveſt Authors, *Seneca*, *Lucan*, *Tacitus*, *Quintilian* in his Declamations, and *Pliny* the younger; nay, what may ſeem ſtrange, ſo ſtrong was the ill habit, that whilſt ſome

ſome of theſe great men complained of the decay of true Eloquence, they were themſelves the great examples and promoters of it.

YET there are ſome Points left, wherein our Author ſeems to have failed moſt; one of which is in not making his Characters *Roman*. The more immediately we are acquainted with thoſe Characters that are made the ſubject of Comic Ridicule, the more readily do we enter into the humour and ſpirit of the Play, and conſequently receive a more agreeable entertainment from thence, than foreign characters, though thoſe of the neighbouring nations, could poſſibly give us. In *Terence*'s time indeed the *Romans* were no ſtrangers to the *Greek* Manners and Cuſtoms, but they were indiſputably better acquainted with their own. Therefore both *Terence* and *Plautus*'s Plays would have been better reliſhed, had they laid the Scene at *Rome*.

ANOTHER deficiency ſeems to be a want of variety of Characters: a raking Son, a griping old Father, a tricking Slave, a greedy Strumpet, a pimping Paraſite, a Daughter expoſed or ſtolen, and owned in the Cataſtrophe: Theſe are the conſtant Characters of their Comedies, tho' not without ſome variation. It may be ſaid, that their Manners were not arrived to that height of luxury, nor had they yet diſcovered the various arts of life, which time and neceſſity have ſince taught us. Beſides, that inexhauſtible fund of Characters, *Love* was treated in a very different way among the *Greeks* and *Romans* from what it is among us. I think in general we do the fair ſex more juſtice now than they did; and Religion has made ſome amendment, outwardly at leaſt, in our Morals. All this conſidered, perhaps that ſameneſs of Characters, which makes *Plautus*'s and *Terence*'s Plays leſs agreeable, is more excuſable than ſome have imagined. Comedy in reſpect to this variety of Characters, has been very much improved among us, and I may ſay, more than in any other Nation. The indulgence of the Government, and the humour peculiar to our Iſle, ſeem to

to be two ſources of it. Beſides, our Comic Writers have taught perſons of all degrees from the Prince to the Peaſant, to appear agreeably upon the Stage; but the Antients were confined, or kept themſelves within a much ſmaller compaſs, as appears from their characters enumerated above.

AGAIN, *Plautus* and *Terence*, however capable they might be of inventing their own Subjects, choſe rather to borrow them from the *Greek* Stage, where they knew they had already pleaſed. They have both given proofs of their judgment in the many additions and alterations they made to theſe borrowed Subjects; and I doubt not had they lived an Age later, when all Arts were in their full glory at *Rome*, and the empire in its higheſt ſtate of power and ſplendor, they would have found ſubjects enough at home to furniſh out their Scenes, and would have given more life as well as variety to their Characters; the fewneſs of which was certainly a great cramp to their Genius, which has thereby appeared to a diſadvantage, in having ſo few ſubjects to work upon. And this may be ſome apology for our Poets, who, one would think, would, both for their honour and conveniency, have varied their Characters oftener, had it been either agreeable to the Audience, or indeed poſſible to be done in that infancy of Arts among them.

THE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

Miſcellaneous

# Miſcellaneous Poets.

BESIDES thoſe Poets, of whoſe Life and Writings an account has been given at large, there ſhould be ſome notice taken of ſeveral both Dramatic and others, who have been eſteemed by the Antients. Though their Works being now chiefly loſt, we can form no certain judgment of our own concerning them; yet it is worth our while to know their character as far as we find it given by antient Writers. However, to avoid perplexity, I ſhall not quote the paſſages themſelves, but content my ſelf with juſt mentioning the authority I have for what is advanced concerning them.

AND there are ſome few Poets, whoſe Works tho' yet partly extant, I thought hardly deſerved a particular examination, and therefore left them to be mentioned in this place.

I have ranged them in the order of time as nearly as I could. Only as the Dramatic Writers come firſt moſt of them, I choſe not to interrrupt their Series. Such among theſe Poets as have been treated of elſewhere, I ſhall ſay nothing of here, but by way of Supplement to the former accounts.

To begin with LIVIUS ANDRONICUS, I have nothing more to ſay of him, than that I find his Tragedy of *Ulyſſes* was eſteemed the beſt of all his Works.

NÆVIUS of *Campania* publiſhed his firſt Play five years after *L. Andronicus*. He was baniſhed *Rome* by a faction of the Nobles, and died the ſame year, of the ſecond *Punic* war, that *Scipio* paſſed over into *Africa*, in the Conſulſhip of *M. Cornelius Cethegus* and *P. Sempr. Tuditanus*.

ENNIUS of *Tarentum* wrote many Tragedies, as well as Annals and Satires. He ſurvived *Plautus* fourteen years, and died in the Conſulſhip of *Q. Martius Philippus* and *Cn. Serv. Cæpio.*

PORCIUS

Porcius Licinius Tegula, or *Imbrex*, flourished about the same time, and was a celebrated Comic Writer. *Volcatius Sedigitus*, in his list of them, places him in the fourth rank.

*Si erit, quod quarto detur, dabitur Licinio.*

Statius, at first a Slave, with his Freedom obtained the surname of *Cæcilius*, and became a famous Comic Writer. He is thought to have been an *Insubrian Gaul* by birth, and a native of *Milan*. He was an intimate friend of *Ennius*, whom he survived but one year. *Cicero* does not approve the Harshness of his Stile. *Sedigitus* places him first;

*Cæcilio palmam Statio do Comico.*

And *Horace* gives him the preference for the gravity of his characters;

*Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.*

*Varro* is of the same opinion with *Horace*. And *Vel. Paterculus*, L. I. joins him with *Terence* and *Afranius*, whom he reckons the most excellent Comic Writers of *Rome*; *Dulcesque latini leporis facetiæ per Cæcilium, Terentiumque & Afranium sub pari ætate nituerant.*

Pacuvius, *Ennius*'s sister's son, was born the year of *Rome* 533, and 156th *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius*, and gained a great reputation by many excellent Tragedies which he wrote, as well as by his skill in Painting. He published his last Piece at eighty years of age. Some years before he died he retired to *Tarentum*. He is much commended both by *Pliny* the Naturalist, and *Cicero*, particularly for his *Orestes*, which was revived and acted with applause in the year of *Rome* 624, when *C. Sempr. Tuditanus*, and *M. Aquilius Nepos* were Consuls. But the same *Cicero* condemns his Stile. His Works shewed him a Man of great learning, as *Horace* has observed, where he likewise commends *Attius* for his sublime Manner;

——————*aufert*
*Pacuvius docti famam ſenis, Attius alti.*

This *Attius* ſucceeded *Pacuvius*, and was partly his Cotemporary, for he brought his firſt Tragedy on the Stage being thirty years old, at the ſame time that *Pacuvius* wrote his laſt, which was in the year of *Rome* 614, when *C. Lælius* and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* were Conſuls. The Plays were exhibited by the great *P. Licinius Craſſus Mucianus*, then Ædile, of whom *Gellius* remarks, that he excelled in five Particulars, being very Rich, of noble Deſcent, great Eloquence, a profound Lawyer, and High Prieſt, or *Pontifex Maximus*.

Attius was the ſon of a Freed-man at *Rome*, and was born the year of *Rome* 583, according to *Euſebius*, when *Martius Philippus* and *Servilius Cæpio* were Conſuls, and was ſent from *Rome* among others, whilſt he was very young, in a Colony to *Piſaurum*. *D. Junius Brutus Callaicus*, who, in the year of *Rome* 616, overcame the *Portugueſe* and *Gallicians*, was a great admirer of this Poet, with whoſe verſes he adorned the Temple he had built out of the ſpoils of that war. See *Val. Maximus*, l. 8. cap. 14. I find no account of *Attius*'s death.

*Suetonius* ſpeaks of Attilus, a Comic Writer, who is ſuppoſed to have lived about this time. *Cicero* condemns his Stile, and obſerves that he made a bad Tranſlation of the *Electra of Sophocles*. *Licinius*, for the hardneſs of his Stile, calls him an Iron Writer, but ſays, he had other good qualities which made him worth reading;

*Ferreum ſcriptorem opinor, verum ſcriptorem tamen*
*Ut legendas ſit.*———

And *Volcatius Sedigitus* has ſet him a degree above *Terence*. *Marcus Acuticus* was Cotemporary with *Plautus*, and a Comic Writer, ſome of whoſe Pieces had been aſcribed to *Plautus*, but by *Varro* were reſtored to the right Author. Plautius, another Comic and Cotemporary Writer, ſuffered in the ſame manner.

For

For such was the fondness of the *Romans* for all *Plautus*'s Plays, that they were ready to ascribe all to him that savoured of his manner, unless the true Author was known.

BUT CNEIUS AQUILIUS, another Comic Poet of the same Age, had afterwards the credit of fathering some of *Plautus*'s Plays, 'till the critical enquiry of *Varro* deprived him of it, and ascribed them to *Plautus*.

RUSCIUS, another Comic Poet, was Cotemporary with *Terence*.

TURPILIUS and TRABEA lived some time after him. These were all Comic Poets of reputation, who are thus ranged by *Sedigitus*.

*Turpilius septimum, Trabea octavum obtinet,*
*Nono loco esse facile facio Luscium.*

*Turpilius* lived to a great age, and died about the time that *Furius Bibaculus* was born, at *Sinuessa* in the 169th *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius*, about the year of *Rome* 649. *Alexis* and *Menander* are the two *Greek* Poets he is said to have imitated.

C. TITIUS, a *Roman* Knight, flourished not many years after, both at the Bar by his Eloquence, and on the Stage by his Tragedies.

AFTER him came AFRANIUS, his professed Admirer and Imitator, though in the comic way. But he chose *Roman* subjects, from whence his Comedies were called *Togatæ*. *Horace* has observed his happy Imitation of *Menander*'s manner;

*Dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro.*

*Afranius* had so great a value for *Terence*, that he pronounced him almost inimitable, saying, *Terentio non similem dices quempiam.* Both *Quintilian* and *Ausonius* allow his Excellencies, but jointly lament the Lewdness and Immorality of his Writings. I think it is no proof of *Sedigitus*'s judgment, not to have mentioned this polite Writer among his Comic Poets, unless he put him in another Class, because his Comedies were on *Roman* Subjects.

SOON

Soon after him flourished NOVIUS, a writer of *Attellane* Farces, and some time after him MUMMIUS in the same way.

POMPONIUS BONONIENSIS is likewise said to have been the author of some *Attellane* Pieces. He was a man of great wit and elegance, according to *Cicero* and *Seneca*, and flourished about the same time with *Mummius*.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR STRABO, who was Ædile in the year of *Rome* 664, wrote many Tragœdies according to *Cicero*, who observes, that his stile was smooth and flowing, but wanted strength.

ABOUT the same time flourished TITUS QUINCTIUS ATTA, a comic writer of Plays with *Roman* characters. He died at *Rome* in the 175th *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius*. *Festus* the Grammarian says, he was surnamed *Atta* from the lameness of his feet; to which *Horace* seems to allude, where he complains, that the *Patricians* would not allow him to examine whether *Atta*, in his Comedies, trod the Stage gracefully; (which used to be strewed with flowers) he means, that they were offended he should presume to doubt the merit of those pieces, in which those excellent Players *Roscius* and *Æsopus* had acted parts.

*Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attæ*
*Fabula si dubitem: clament periisse pudorem*
*Cuncti pene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner*
*Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius egit.*

POMPONIUS SECUNDUS was a man of quality, born at *Bologna*. He flourished about the year of *Rome* 782, and was cotemporary with *Seneca* the Philosopher. He is said to have composed a great many Tragedies. *Pliny*, in the 4th *C.* of *L.* 14. of his natural History, tells us, that he had written an account of his life. *Pliny* the younger relates this remarkable humour of his; that when he read his Plays to a friend, to have his advice, and he proposed some alterations, or to have something omitted, which the Poet, on the contrary, liked, and had a

mind to retain as it was, he pleasantly used to say, *I appeal to the People.* *Quintilian*, who says he just remembers to have seen *Secundus*, speaks of him as an excellent critic, and takes notice of a little controversy that happen'd between him and *Seneca* the Philosopher, about the propriety of some expressions of the Poet *Attius*. This Poet was much beloved by *Germanicus*, and the loftiness of his stile got him the surname of the *Tragic Pindar*.

*Ovid* commends MELISSUS, the freed-man of *Mecænas*, as a comic writer;

*Et tua cum Socco Musa, Melisse levis.*

De Ponto L. 2. El. 10.

*Suetonius* says, this *Melissus*'s Comedies were of a different sort from the *Roman Togatæ Fabulæ*, and were called *Trabeatæ*.

TURANIUS was a tragic Poet of some reputation, who flourished about the same time, according to *Ovid*;

*Musaque Turani tragicis innixa Cothurnis.*

LET us now look a little back to some other Poets whom we omitted, whilst we were willing to present the principal dramatic writers in one view. For to attempt a compleat catalogue of them or the other Poets, if all deserve that name who sometimes diverted themselves with Poetry, would be a tedious as well as a very dull task. *Vossius*, and some others, have been laborious in these Collections, to whom I must refer the Reader, that is curious of such knowledge.

THE first of these Poets we are now to treat of should be CATO the *Censor*, were he acknowledged to be the Author of those moral Distichs which bear his name. This is now given up by all the Critics, but still they are divided in their conjectures about the age and character of the Author. Some imagine him to have been a Heathen of the 4th Century, whilst others more probably suppose it the work of some Christian

writer of the 8th, who, in naming the Book might imitate the Antients, who frequently entitled their Books by the name of some great man that had distinguished himself on the subject which they treated of. *Plato*, *Cicero*, and *Lucian*, furnish us with many examples of this practice. The Book is well adapted to the capacity of children, for whose instruction it seems intended, and the author was a man of good sense and piety at least, though no Poet.

LUTATIUS CATULUS presents himself next. He was Consul the year of *Rome* 650, with *Marius*, when both signalized themselves in defeating and almost destroying the *Cimbri*. Afterwards, in the civil wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Catulus* sided with the latter, and when *Marius*, during *Sylla*'s absence in *Asia*, assisted by *Cinna*'s faction, had made himself Master of *Rome*, where he proscribed and put to death the most illustrious men of the State, who had opposed or not joined with him, *Catulus*, to avoid his fury, having shut himself up in a retired apartment which had been lately plaistered, he was stifled there by the stench of the mortar, and the fumes of the charcoal fire that had been made to dry the walls.

HIS talent lay at *Epigram*, of which he published many, but his stile was not so correct or elegant as that of *Catullus*, and his versification more irregular. His wit was generally admired, which it would have deserved better, had he not indulged himself in obscene subjects so much. He was an Historian as well as a Poet, and wrote the History of his own Consulship, which he addressed to his friend *Furius Antias*, that is, who was born at *Antium*. *Macrobius*, *L.* 7. *Saturn* observes, that *Virgil* has been beholden to this Author for many things, which argues that he was a good writer for the age he lived in. But what Poems he wrote I do not find any where mentioned.

D. LABERIUS, a *Roman* Knight, had gained a great Reputation by his comic Pieces called *Mimes*, in the time of *Julius Cæsar*; whom having offended by some of his Railleries, *Cæsar*, in revenge, ordered

him, to the disgrace of the *Equestrian* Order, to mount the Stage when he was above sixty years old. *Laberius* very ingeniously complains of this hardship in a fragment which *Macrobius* has preserved, L. 2. *Saturnal.* *Laberius* died the year after *Cæsar*'s assassination, and left the glory of this kind of Dramatic Poetry to be indisputably enjoyed by PUBLIUS SYRUS, whose name should intimate that he was a *Syrian* by birth, and having been made a slave when young and brought to *Rome*, he there obtained his liberty by his merit, and proved so excellent a writer of *Mimes*, that the *Romans* preferred them to the best of their own or the *Greek* Dramatic Writers. *Julius Cæsar* first established his reputation, and gave him the Prize of Poetry against his friend *Laberius*, who contended with *Syrus* for it, who was as yet but a young man. He continued to flourish many years under *Augustus*. *Cassius Severus* was a professed admirer of him, and the two *Seneca's* speak of him with the highest encomiums, 3 *Controvers.* and *Epist.* 8. Many moderns, and particularly the *Scaligers*, have launched out very much in his praise; they say he stripped *Greece* of all her wit, fine turns, and agreeable raillery, and that his Sentences include the substance of the Doctrine of the wisest Philosophers. They were extracted from his mimic Pieces some time under the *Antonines*, according to the best Editors. They are generally printed with the Fables of *Phædrus*.

FURIUS, surnamed of BIBACULUS, perhaps from his excessive drinking, was born about the year of *Rome* 650. *Quintilian* says, that he wrote Iambics in a very satirical strain, and therefore is censured by *Cremutius Cordus* in *Tacitus* Annal. L. 4. C. 8. as a slandering and invective writer. *Horace* is thought to have ridiculed the false sublime of his stile, L. 2. *Sat.* 5. yet, according to *Macrobius Saturnal.* L. 6. C. 1. *Virgil* is said to have imitated him in many places.

SOON after him flourished RABIRIUS, a Poet of a very great character, who is said to have written a fine

fine Poem on the wars between *Augustus* and *Anthony.* See *Velleius Paterculus,* L. 2. *Ovid* L. 4. *ult. Eleg.* *Quintilian,* L. 10. And *Horace* names him among those genius's of the first rate, whom he desired to please in his writings. The Critics have not been able to collect any fragments of his, sufficient for us to form any judgment of his manner, so that we can only conclude from the joint testimony of his cotemporaries, that he was a fine Critic and a noble Poet, magnificence of expression being his peculiar character, according to *Ovid,*

———*Magnique Rabirius oris.*

VALERIUS CATO, who flourished in *Sylla*'s time, is said by some Critics to be the Author of a little Poem called *Diræ,* that is among the *Juvenilia* of *Virgil.* He was of *Gallic* extraction, and had composed some elegiac Poems under the title of *Lydia* and *Diana,* to which *Suetonius de Gram. Illustr.* is supposed to allude, where he calls this Author the *Syren* of the *Latins,* from the enchanting softness of his Muse.

CORN. LICINIUS CALVUS, cotemporary with, and an intimate friend of *Catullus,* is reckoned by *Cornelius Nepos* as one of the best Poets of the Age. He wrote many Elegies and Epigrams*, in the former he celebrated his passion for *Quintilia.* *Cicero* gives him the character of a very smart Iambic Writer, without regard to Party; for he spared neither *Cæsar* nor *Pompey.* Yet he bore the character of a very good-natur'd man. *Seneca* the Rhetorician, and *Quintilian,* allow him to have been so excellent an Orator, that he contended for some time with *Cicero* for the preeminence. He was a man of a low stature, for which he is agreeably rallied by *Catullus.*

The Works of these noble Poets would have ad-

* *Propertius* takes notice of them as follows:
*Hæc etiam docti confessa est pagina Calvi,*
*Cum caneret miseræ funera Quintiliæ.*
Lib. 2. El. 25.

 mirably

mirably contributed to shew the progress of Poetry from *Ennius* to *Virgil*.

Cornificius flourished soon after *Calvus*, and is celebrated by *Ovid* for a good elegiac Writer. And *Eusebius* says, his sister *Cornificia* was a lady who shewed how capable the fair sex is of conversing with the Muses.

Quintilius Varus, the *Roman* General, whose Army was unfortunately cut in pieces, (for grief of which he killed himself) after several exploits in *Germany*, was one of *Virgil*'s first patrons, and is by him celebrated as such in his *Eclogues*: and *Julius Scaliger* thinks him to be the true Author of *Etna*, a Poem that is commonly ascribed to *Virgil*. This Poem is in good Esteem, and the Critics say even *Virgil* need not blush to own it.

The Two Varro's present themselves next to our consideration. Marcus Terentius Varro, the *Roman*, was born the year of *Rome* 638, and died at 89 years of age. His great Learning made him the Admiration of his Time, which was the most flourishing for Arts and Glory that *Rome* ever knew. There are divers fragments of his works, particularly of his *Menippian* Satires, which were Medleys of Prose and Verse. *Scaliger* has likewise collected some of his Epigrams from among the *Catalecta* of *Virgil*. In general he seems to have been a much greater Critic and Scholar than he was a Poet. He bore many great offices, and among the rest was Tribune of the People. He was an intimate friend of *Cicero*'s, and in the civil wars warmly assisted *Pompey*, but after his defeat soon submitted to *Cæsar*, who was reconciled to him. From hence he applied all his time in the improvement of learning in general, and had the charge of the *Greek* and *Lain* libraries at *Rome*. He was above seventy when *Anthony* proscribed him: however, he found means to escape and save his life, but could not save his library, and some of his works from the fury of the soldiers, which was a great loss to him and to posterity. After this storm was over he peaceably pur-

ſued his ſtudies, and in a paſſage of his quoted by *Gellius*, L. 3. C. 10. *Varro* ſays, that being ſeventy eight years old at the time of his writing the book which *Gellius* quotes, he had already compoſed 490 volumes. *Pliny*, L. 29. C. 4. of his natural Hiſtory ſays, that *Varro* continued his ſtudies, and wrote when he was 88 years of age. He was 80 when he publiſhed his books of agriculture, which are yet extant. The loſs of his ſeveral works is doubtleſs one of the greateſt which the Commonwealth could ever ſuffer, this excellent man having all the talents as well as opportunities requiſite to compleat his enquiries, and make his works both inſtructive and entertaining.

* VARRO ATACINUS was born about the ſame time as *Cicero*, at a ſmall town near *Narbonne*. Though infinitely inferior to the *Roman* in learning, he was at leaſt as good if not a better poet, which perhaps has made many Critics confound them. His chief Works were a Poem on the war with the *Sequani*, a people of *Gaul*; and the *Aſtronomics*, that went under the name of *Plauciades* the *Grammarian*. But the *Argonautics* in 4 books, was what gained him the greateſt reputation, and is commended by *Quintilian*, And the elder *Seneca* obſerves, that *Virgil* had ſo good an opinion of this author, that he ſometimes inſerted his Verſes in his Works, but with ſome corrections, to give them more ſtrength. Hence we may infer that he was a polite and eaſy writer.

HELVIUS CINNA, who flouriſhed under the *Triumvirs*, is ſaid to have been author of ſeveral Poems on *Achilles*, *Telephus*, *Xerxes*, &c. but his Poem named *Smyrna* got him moſt reputation, which is ſaid to have ſpared no pains nor time to deſerve, having been nine years about it. His ſtile was neverthleſs ſo obſcure and difficult, that *Craſſitius*, a Grammarian

* One of the Two *Varro's* is reckoned among the beſt Elegiac Poets by *Propertius*;

*Hæc quoque perfecto ludebat Jaſone Varro,*
*Varro Leucadiæ maxima flamma ſuæ.*
L. 2. El. 25.

of note, wrote a learned Commentary to explain the Poem; which according to the following Epigram, he was the only perſon that rightly underſtood.

*Uni Craſſitio ſe credere Smyrna probavit,*
*Deſinite indocti connubio hanc petere.*
*Soli Craſſitio ſe dixit nubere velle;*
*Intima cui ſoli nota ſua extiterint.*

Augustus and Germanicus were both Poets: The former was ſo far from admiring his own compoſitions, that being aſked, what he had done with his *Ajax?* a Tragedy he had made of that name, but with which he was diſſatisfied, he ſaid pleaſantly, *In ſpongiam incubuit*, he has killed himſelf with a ſponge, intimating, that he had rubbed it out of his tablets.

Germanicus, who was one of the greateſt men of antiquity, which coſt him his life through the jealouſy of *Tiberius*, who had been obliged by *Auguſtus* to adopt him for his Succeſſor, had according to *Quintilian* and *Ovid*, a fine genius to Poetry. *Germanicus Cæſar*, ſays the *Roman* Critic, if he had not been called away from the Muſes by the more important cares of Government, might have rivalled the greateſt Poets. Neverthelеſs, where can we find more learning and excellency in all points than in his juvenile Poems? but who, indeed, better underſtood to ſing of wars than the ſame perſon who had behaved ſo gloriouſly in them?

Pedo Albinovanus was a writer of great merit in ſeveral kinds of Poetry. *Ovid* mentions his *Theſied*, an epic Poem; and *Seneca* commends one on an expedition of *Germanicus*. *Martial* ſpeaks in praiſe of his Epigrams, L. 2. *Epigr.* 77. and the Critics are now almoſt agreed that we have ſome of his Elegies yet extant, which had been attributed to *Ovid*. That on the death of *Druſus* is reckoned very elegant.

Though we have no particular account of the Works of *Calidius*, he was certainly a Poet of no mean genius; for *Cornelius Nepos*, in the life of *Atticus*, after having obſerved, that *Catullus* and *Lucretius* were already dead,

dead, gives this *Calidius* the preference to all the Poets of his time.

Caius Asinius Pollio had a very ſublime genius for Poetry. *Horace* deſcribes him as ſuch, Sat. 10. L. 2. and Od. 1. L. 2. and *Virgil*, in his third Eclogue, celebrates him as a fine Poet. He excelled in writing Tragedies. See *Horace*, L. 2. Od. 1. and *Virgil*, Eclogue 8. verſe 6.

*Tu mihi ſeu magni ſuperas jam ſaxa timavi,*
*Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris; en erit unquam*
*Ille dies, mihi cùm liceat tua dicere facta?*
*En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem*
*Sola ſophocleo tua carmina digna Cothurno?*
*A te principium, tibi deſinet: accipe juſſis*
*Carmina cœpta tuis, atque hanc ſine tempora circum*
*Inter victrices Hederam tibi ſerpere Laurus.*

He was alſo a fine Orator and a juſt Hiſtorian. But he could never be reconciled to *Cicero*'s Eloquence, perhaps not only out of Enmity to him but in Friendſhip to *Marc Anthony*, whom *Cicero* had ſo bitterly inveighed againſt in his *Philippics*. He was Conſul the year of *Rome* 714, and triumphed the year after. *Julius Cæſar*, ſome time before his Death, had made him Governour of the farther Provinces of *Spain*. He joined *Anthony* with two Legions before the Triumvirate was eſtabliſhed; and when the War broke out between *Anthony* and *Auguſtus*, he aſſiſted *Lucius Antonius* againſt *Auguſtus*, and was afterwards a great Inſtrument in making the Peace between them at *Puteoli*. After having triumphed over the *Illyrians*, he ſpent the remainder of his Days in *Italy* in Peace: but ſtill was ſo far a Friend to *Anthony* that though he would not join with him, yet neither would he ſide with *Auguſtus* againſt him, in regard to the great Obligations which he owed him. He lived to Fourſcore, and died towards the End of *Auguſtus*'s Reign, the year of *Rome* 757.

Cassius Severus of *Parma*, who was one of the Conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*, and the laſt that ſuffered for that Aſſaſſination, was a Writer of great Spirit and

Elegance. *Horace* indeed ridicules his ready vein in one place, but in another he thinks he makes a fine Compliment to his Friend *Tibullus*, when he tells that he outdoes even *Cassius* in Elegy:

*Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat.*

He also informs us, that *Varrius*, whom *Augustus* had sent to put *Cassius* to death, burnt him in his Study, with all his works. *Quintilian* seems to allow, that *Cassius*'s great Excellency lay in his Versification, but observes at the same time, that if he had lived to finish his Poem on the civil Wars, with the same Spirit that appeared in what was extant of it, he might justly have challenged the second Place among the *Roman* Poets. Perhaps he was busy on this Poem when he was put to Death. He had sided with *Brutus* and *Cassius* against *Anthony* and *Augustus*; *Horace*, who had done the same, being afterwards driven by necessity to turn Poet, by which he had ingratiated himself with *Augustus*, it was Policy in him to speak with Contempt of *Cassius*, and especially since he employed his Genius to celebrate the Exploits of *Brutus* and *Cassius* against the Triumvirs.

CORNELIUS GALLUS, born at *Frejus* in *France*, then called *Forum Julium*, was a person of Distinction as well as a good Poet. He was the particular Favourite of *Augustus*, who made him Governour of *Egypt*, after having conquered it by the Defeat and Death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, but he was guilty of such enormous Oppressions and Male-Administration in his Government, that the Senate was obliged to take cognizance of it; nor could all the Friendship and Interest of *Augustus* save *Gallus* from being condemned to Banishment, and to lose his Estate. He was so grieved at this Disgrace that he put an end to his own Life, being about 43 years old. *Virgil* has complemented him in many Places. The whole tenth Eclogue is on the Subject of his Love to *Lycoris*, the poetical Name of *Gallus*'s Mistress, whose cruel disdain is there lamented. He had written four Books of Elegies on his

his Amour; but *Quintilian* thinks him not ſo ſoft as *Tibullus* or *Propertius*. *Propertius* commends his Elegies in the following Lines, wherein he alludes to his violent Death;

*Et modo formoſa qui multa Lycoride Gallus,*
*Mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua.*
L. 2. El. 25.

He alſo tranſlated ſome Works of *Euphoreon*, a *Greek* Poet of *Chalcis*, wherein, among other Things, there was a particular Account of the Origin of the *Grynæan* Oracle of *Apollo*. On this Occaſion, *Virgil*, in the 6th Eclogue, deſcribing the Son of *Silenus*, introduces *Gallus* as introduced into *Parnaſſus* by one of the Muſes, who all receive him with peculiar Honour, and the Poet *Linus* complements him on the abovementioned Poem;

*Tum canit errantem Permeſſi ad flumina Gallum,*
*Aonas in montes ut duxerit una ſororum:*
*Utque viro Phœbi Chorus aſſurrexerit omnis:*
*Ut Linus hæc illi divino carmine paſtor,*
*Floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro,*
*Dixerit; hos tibi dant Calamos, en accipe, Muſæ:*
*Aſcræo quos ante Seni: quibus ille ſolebat*
*Cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.*
*His tibi Grynæi nemoris dicatur origo:*
*Ne quis ſit lucus, quo ſe plus jactet Apollo.*
Ecl. 6. V. 64.

Here one would imagine *Virgil* inſinuated, that *Gallus* had imitated *Heſiod*, but in the 10th Eclogue *Gallus* ſays himſelf that he will go and ſing the Song he had compoſed, or tranſlated from the Poet of *Chalcis*, upon the Pipe of the *Cicilian* Shepherd, which means *Theocritus*; and from this we muſt conclude, that part of theſe Tranſlations from *Euphorean* were in the *Buconic*, or Paſtoral Strain, as ſome of them were after *Heſiod*'s manner.

*Ibo, & Chalcidico quæ ſunt mihi condita Verſu*
*Carmina Paſtoris Siculi modulabor avena.*

As for those Elegies that have been published under his Name, the most judicious Critics agree they are not his, but were written by *Maximian*, a more modern Poet, an obscure, trifling, loose Writer, in many Places offending against the common Rules of the quantities of Syllables, and often full of Barbarisms: And in some of them the Poet confesses himself to be an old Man, which was not *Gallus*'s Case, who died at 43. But besides these Six Elegies, *Aldus Manutius* met with some Fragments at *Venice* that were ascribed to *Gallus*, which though written in a better Taste than the former, *Jos. Scaliger* has proved to be spurious. But *Manutius* was guilty of another Mistake, by confounding this *Gallus* with *Asinius Gallus*, the Son of *Pollio*, whom we have mentioned already. Our *Gallus* died the year of *Rome* 728, seven years before *Virgil*. *Pollio*'s Son, *Asinius Gallus*, was cruelly put to Death by the Emperor *Tiberius*, the year of *Rome* 789.

VARIUS and TUCCA, intimate Friends of *Virgil* and *Horace*, are mentioned by the latter in the number of good Poets, and were, with some others, commissioned by *Augustus* to revise and publish the *Æneid* after *Virgil*'s death. *Varius* we find was a noble epic Writer, and *Horace* has intimated, that he was writing a Poem on *Agrippa*'s exploits, in the 6th Ode of Lib. 1. addressed to that brave General of *Augustus*:

*Scriberis Vario fortis, & hostium*
*Victor, Mæonii carminis alite.*

How much he was beloved by his Prince is testified by the same Poet in his epistle addressed to that Emperor;

*Dilecti tibi Virgilius, Variusque poetæ.*

The same Writer speaks of him advantageously in other Places, and especially in his Art of Poetry, where it is to be noted, as well as in the former quotation, that he is put next to *Virgil*. And here these two seem to be mentioned as the best Poets of their time, and, as such, justly deserving the highest regard of their Countrymen;

——*Quid*

——*Quid autem*
*Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum*
*Vigilio, Varioque?*

THE Poet MACER flourished about this time: for *Ovid* speaks of a Poem of his on the nature and qualities of Birds, Serpents, and Herbs, which he says *Macer*, being then very old, had often read to him;

*Sæpe suas volucres legit mihi grandior Ævo,*
*Quæque nocet serpens, quæ juvat herba, Macer.*
De Ponto L. 4. El. 10.

He also wrote a Supplement to *Homer*, as *Quintus Calaber* did afterwards in *Greek*:

*Tu canis æterno quicquid restabat Homero:*
*Ne careant summa Troica bella manu.*
De Ponto L. 2. El. 10.

PONTICUS, a Poet cotemporary with *Macer* wrote a Poem on the *Theban* war; we know nothing particularly of his character but from his friend *Propertius*, who compares him to *Homer*:

*Dum tibi Cadmeæ dicantur, Pontice, Thebæ,*
*Armaque fraternæ tristia militiæ:*
*Atque, ita sim felix, primo contendis Homero,*
*Sint modo fata tuis mollia carminibus.*
L. 1. El. 7.

*Ovid* has also mentioned him as famous for epic Poetry, and joins him with *Battus* an *Iambic* Poet, of whom we have no other knowledge but what *Ovid* has given us, who calls them his dear companions:

*Ponticus Heroo, Battus quoque clarus Iambo,*
*Dulcia convictus membra fuere mei.*
De Ponto. L. 2. El. 10.

The epigrammatic Poet GETULICUS flourished about the same time, and is mentioned by *Martial*, where he makes an apology for the looseness of his Epigrams, and alledges the example of the best epigrammatic Writers.

VALGIUS

VALGIUS was a Poet of the first rank. *Horace* has mentioned him among those excellent Wits, whose approbation he desired: And *Tibullus* compares him to *Homer* in his Poem to *Messalla*——*Æterno propior non alter Homero.*

CORNELIUS SEVERUS, who flourished about the same time with *Valgius*, was likewise a considerable Poet, and some Critics consider him as the Author of the *Ætna*, a Poem among the *Catalecta* of *Virgil.* He had also undertaken to write a Poem of the Wars in *Sicily*, probably between *Augustus* and *Sextus Pompeius*, and though he died before he finished it, is highly commended for it by *Quintilian. Ovid* addresses him not only as his Friend, but as a Court Favourite and a great Poet——*O vates magnorum maxime regum*, and a little lower he adds,

*Fertile pectus habes, interque Helicona colentes*
*Uberius nulli provenit ista Seges.*
De Ponto. L. 4. El. 2.

RABIRIUS flourished under *Augustus*, and bore the Character of a very sublime Poet, which *Ovid* expresly mentions, De Ponto. L. 4. El. 16.——*Magnique Rabirius oris.* The Reader may consult this Elegy, where he will find many other Poets mentioned, with sometimes a short Character of them, of whom, as we have no other Account, I thought it would be both dull and tedious barely to name them. *Rabirius* is also mentioned by *Horace* as his Friend, and a Person of excellent Merit. *Quintilian* calls him an Author worth being acquainted with, and *Velleius Paterculus* scruples not to place him next to *Virgil*, L. 2. Histor. *Rabirius*'s chief work was a Poem on the War between *Augustus* and *Anthony*, I suppose the *Actian* War, a subject which exercised the Pens of the finest Writers of the *Augustan* Age.

SABINUS was an Elegiac Poet, cotemporary with *Rabirius*: According to *Ovid*, the following Epistles are said to have been published by him: *Ulysses* to *Penelope*, *Hyppolitus* to *Phædra*, *Demophoon* to *Phyl-*

*lis*,

*lis*, *Jason* to *Hypsipile*, and *Sappho* to *Phaon*, none of which are preserved: Those that are among *Ovid*'s under these Titles being esteemed unworthy of him and *Sabinus*. But the general Opinion is, that some, if not all of the six following are *Sabinus*'s, though amongst *Ovid*'s; namely, *Paris* to *Helen*, *Helen* to *Paris*, *Leander* to *Hero*, *Hero* to *Leander*, *Acontius* to *Cydippe*, and *Cydippe* to *Acontius*. *Ovid* observes, that *Sabinus* was the Author of some other Works, which he did not live to finish.

*Quique suam Træzen, imperfectumque Dierum*
*Deseruit celeri morte Sabinus opus.*
De Ponto. L. 4. El. 16.

*Horace* speaks very handsomely of his Friend Titius Septimius, a Lyric and Tragic Poet.

*Quid Titius Romana brevi venturus in ora,*
*Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,*
*Fastidire lacus ac rivos ausus apertos,*
*Ut valet? Ut meminit nostri? Fidibusne Latinis*
*Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa*
*An tragica desævit & ampullatur in arte?*
L. 1. Epist. 3.

And what doth *Titius*, he of growing Fame,
Who doth not fear to drink of *Pindar*'s Stream,
Who scorns known Springs and Lakes, that glorious He,
And is he well, and doth he think of me?
Doth he, the Muse propitious, nobly sing,
And fit to *Roman* Harps the *Theban* String?
Or is he writing Plays, and treads the Stage
In murd'ring Verse, and swells with Tragic Rage!
*Creech.*

Julius Florus, to whom this Epistle is addressed, had among other great Qualities, a masterly skill in Poetry according to *Horace*,

——————*Non tibi parvum*
*Ingenium, non incultum est, nec turpiter hirtum,*

*Seu*

*Seu linguam causis acuis, seu civica jura*
*Respondere paras, seu condis amabile carmen,*
*Prima feres hederæ victricis præmia.*

GRATIUS, of whom we have part of a Poem on hunting, is supposed to have been cotemporary with *Ovid*, and by him pointed out in the last Elegy of the 4th *L. de Ponto*.

*Aptaque venanti* Gratius *arma dedit.*

THE Stile of this Poem is reckoned pure, but without elevation; he is censured by the Critics for dwelling too long on Fables, and as he is counted much superior to *Nemesianus*, who has treated the same subject, so he is reckoned in all points inferior to the *Greek* Poet *Oppian*, who wrote his *Cynegetics* and *Halieutics*, under *Severus* and *Caracalla*, to whom he presented them, and who is said to have rewarded the Poet very magnificently.

FLAVIUS ALPHIUS AVITUS flourished under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, according to *Seneca* the Rhetorician, Controversy the 15th, he was very famous in his youth for his Eloquence; but is thought by that Critic to have enervated the force of his Stile in Prose, by applying himself to Poetry, in which he did not succeed so well. *Priscian* quotes some Verses of his out of his *Lives of illustrious Men*, in two Book in Verse: and *Terentianus Maurus* mentions him for his Eloquence; which was so great when he was very young, that all *Rome* followed him with Admiration: but he afterwards neglected the true bent of his genius for Poetry, in which nature seem'd not to design he should succeed.

CÆSIUS BASSUS, a *Lyric* Poet, flourished under the *Vespasians*. *Quintilian* places him next to *Horace*, and *Pliny* the younger has also commended him for his happy talent that way.

TITUS PETRONIUS ARBITER, though more celebrated for that part of his works which is in Prose, may justly claim our notice among the Poets. He is an admirable Critic and a polite Writer, yet has sometimes

ſometimes fallen into affectation in his Stile, through the too great delicacy of his taſte. This makes him ſometimes treſpaſs againſt ſome of thoſe excellent rules, which he has himſelf laid down in different parts of his *Menippian* Satire; for that ſuch it was, appears from what we have remaining of it. I ſhall not enquire into the deſign of it, as of little importance to know, only muſt obſerve that if, as his admirers alledge (who ſay he flouriſhed in *Nero*'s court, being maſter of the revels to that Prince) he meant to expoſe the luxury and debauchery of the court, it is ſtrange he ſhould chuſe to do it in ſuch a manner; for it is notorious that he ſpeaks of the moſt infamous acts of lewdneſs with too great a guſt to be thought a reformer: I ſhould rather imagine that he has likewiſe drawn his own picture among thoſe of the other debauchees of that court and age. In a word, his Satire is ſuch a ſtrange medley of virtue and vice, that it is ſometimes difficult to determine what he condemns, or what he approves. He had a great genius, and knew very well how to enter into every character he intended to commend or expoſe, and is ſaid by a happy temperature to have joined the humour of *Plautus* to the eloquence of *Cicero*, out of which he has formed a moſt lively and elegant Stile, peculiar to himſelf, and hitherto inimitable, in which the perfection of the *Roman* Urbanity is to be diſcovered by judicious Readers. His character, and the occaſion and manner of his death, which were all very extraordinary, are finely given us by *Tacitus*, *L*, 16. *Annal*. That is ſuppoſing him to be the very perſon there mentioned, which though doubted by *Lipſius* and ſome other Critics, is now the moſt prevailing opinion. A conſiderable fragment of *Petronius* was pretended to be found at *Trau* in *Dalmatia*, in the *Venetian* dominions, by a Phyſician, about the middle of the laſt century. This occaſioned a controverſy among the Critics, of which there is ſome account in *Spon*'s voyages, who viſited this Phyſician and ſaw the manuſcript in queſtion. Though *Petronius*

*nius* is generally thought to have been an *Epicurean*, ſome maintain he was a *Stoic*, and have attempted to prove it from his Works. *Salmaſius* and ſome other Critics are of Opinion, that the preſent Fragments of *Petronius* are merely *Excerpta* or Paſſages tranſcribed by ſome Student, who noted down what pleaſed him beſt in the Courſe of his reading this Author, and that the Original and entire Copies were deſtroyed by the raſh Zeal of the Monks, which has been more injurious to the learned World in many Reſpects, than the ſeveral Ravages of the barbarous Nations, or the deſtroying Hand of Time it ſelf. *Petronius* whether through the Favour of *Nero* or his own Merit, was ſent Proconſul to *Bithynia*, where this Man of Pleaſure, like another *Mæcænas*, ſhewed himſelf capable of the cloſeſt Application to Buſineſs, and performed all the Duties of an able Magiſtrate: He was afterwards, as *Tacitus* ſays, choſen Conſul, perhaps extraordinarily for ſome Months as was uſual, when the Conſul died within the year of his Office, which was never left vacant: I mention this becauſe we do not find his Name in any Liſt of the Conſuls, and yet the Authority of *Tacitus* is unqueſtioable, who ſays he was Conſul. The ſame Hiſtorian ſeems to inſinuate that he received the Surname of *Arbiter*, becauſe *Nero* thought none of his Voluptuous Pleaſures well fancied, that were not either directed or approved by *Petronius*. This great Favour of *Petronius* could not fail of ſtirring up *Tigellinus* againſt him. That jealous and ſelfiſh Favourite and Miniſter of *Nero*'s reſolved to ruin this growing Rival, which by falſe Accuſations he effected. Nor was *Petronius* admitted to make his Defence. Some of his Slaves were bribed againſt him, and the reſt carried away to Priſon. *Petronius* having (as yet uncertain of his Fate) for ſome time ſtayed at *Cumæ*, for the Emperor was gone into *Campania*) reſolved to put an End to his Hopes and Fears, by a voluntary Death. He opened his Veins, then cloſed them again; at Intervals converſing with his Friends,

not

not like *Seneca*, in a solemn Manner on serious Subjects, but in a pleasant and jocose Way, they repeating to him Songs and Verses upon diverting Subjects. In short, he slept, he travelled, rewarded some and punished others of his Domesticks; affecting to do all the ordinary Offices of Life, that his Death might not seem forced but accidental.

WHEN he made his Will, he did not compliment *Nero* or *Tigellinus*, or any of the great Men in Power, as was then the common Practice, with a Legacy; but having described, under the feigned Characters of some vile debauched People, all the infamous Lewdness and obscene pleasures of the Prince, sent the Book sealed up to *Nero*; but broke the Seal in Pieces, that no Use might be made of it afterwards in making Discovery of the Author.

THE manner of his Death had a strange Mixture of Constancy and Extravagance, and perhaps not a little Affectation, however *Tacitus* seems to relate it with Applause and Admiration. He died the year of *Rome* 817, and of *Christ* 65, being as we may suppose about 50 Years old.

ARUNTIUS STELLA, born at *Apona* in the Territory of *Padua*, is celebrated both by *Statius* and *Martial* as a fine Poet. *Statius* in the Dedication of his *Sylvæ* to *Stella* mentions his Elegies, and a Poem called *Asteris*, but particularly his Poem on the Death of a favourite Dove, which *Martial* prefers to that celebrated one of *Catullus* on *Lesbia*'s Sparrow.

*Stellæ Delicium mei Columba,*
*Verona hæc audiente, dicam,*
*Vicit maximi passerem Catulli.*

*Stella* was a Person of great Quality and Fortune and bore some of the greatest Offices in *Rome*, having been Prætor and Duumvir, a civil Magistrate of great Authority and Dignity among the *Romans*.

SENTIUS AUGUR, is commended by *Pliny* in his Epistles, as a good Epigrammatic Writer. He was a native of *Rome*, and Cotempory with him. The

same *Pliny* praises his Friend *Spurina*, an illustrious *Roman*, for his happy Talent for *Lyric* Poetry, as he does *Voconius* for his Elegies and Epigrams, and *Passienus* a *Roman* Knight for excelling both in Elegiac and Lyric Poetry; he is also much praised by *Gellius*.

SALEIUS BASSUS is reckoned by *Quintilian* in the Number of the best Epic Poets. He was an intimate Friend of *Lucan*, and grew afterwards much in favour with the Emperor *Vespasian*. *Tacitus* and *Pliny* mention him with Honour, and *Juvenal* has taken notice of his Merit and Poverty.

VOLCATIUS SEDIGITUS, flourished about the Time of the *Vespasians*, and is commended by *Pliny* the younger and *Gellius* for his Learning. We have no Account of any other Work of his, than that in which he makes a Judgment of all the Poets, a Fragment of which relating to the Comic Poets is quoted by *Gellius*.

AULUS SERENUS a Lyric Poet, is much commended by *Maurus Terentianus*, *Diomedes* the Grammarian and *Martianus Capella*. He is said to have published several Poems, some of which are cited by *Nonius* the Grammarian, and particularly that called *Ruralia*: He seems to have lived sometime between *Sedigitus* and *Terentianus*.

SOME Critics make this TERENTIANUS Cotemporary with *Martial*, and suppose him to be the Governor of *Syene*, whom that Poet mentions, *L.* I. *Epig.* 87. He is cited by *Priscian*, *Servius*, and other Grammarians, among what they call the later Writers. He was old as he informs us in the Preface, when he begun his Poem of Letters, Syllables, Feet and Measures, that is, a Prosodia in Verse: He was an *African*, according to many Critics, or a *Carthaginian* by birth, but I should rather think him a noble *Roman*.

SULPITIA, the Poetess, flourished about the same time with *Terentianus*. We have but a Fragment of a Satire that she wrote against *Domitian*, who published a Decree for the Banishment of the Philosophers from *Rome*. But from the Invocation it should seem she

was

was Author of many other Poems, and that ſhe was the firſt *Roman* Lady who had taught her Sex to vie with the *Greeks* in Poetry.

*Cætera quin etiam, quot denique millia luſi.*
*Primaque Romanas docui contendere Graiis,*
*Et ſalibus variare novis conſtanter omitto.*

Her Language is eaſy and elegant, and ſhe ſeems to have had a happy Talent for Satire. She is mentioned by *Martial* and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, and is ſaid to have addreſſed to her huſband who was a *Roman* Knight, a Poem on conjugal Love. She was certainly a Lady of a bright Genius, and the Learned World have reaſon to lament the Loſs of her Works.

MARULLUS, a Writer of *Mimes*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his fine Genius under *Marcus Antoninus* the Philoſopher, and was remarkable for making his Reflections with ſuch Liberty, that he ſpared no Character of Vice or Folly that he met with in thoſe of the firſt Rank. As a particular Inſtance of this, it is ſaid, That in the following Verſe he expreſly named the Empreſs *Fauſtina*'s Gallant to the whole Audience;

*Ille jam tibi dixi Tertullus dicitur.*

His works are all loſt. He had the Character of a very ſtrong and elegant Writer, and is often quoted by *Servius* the *Grammarian*.

We meet with no Poets of any Note in the Interval between *Antoninus Philoſophus* and *Caracalla*, unleſs we take PALLADIUS to have lived in this Interval: He has compoſed a Poem on the Grafting of Trees, which he has executed with ſome Spirit, but we can find no further Account of him.

Q. SERENUS SAMMONICUS was a celebrated Phyſician as well as a Poet, under *Caracalla*, who killed him in a Paſſion one Day as he ſate at Table with him, but upon what Provocation is uncertain. He is ſaid to have publiſhed many Treatiſes and Poems, but all that remains of his now is a Poem on Medicines, and this by ſome Critics, has been attributed rather to his Son

*Sammo-*

*Sammonicus*, who was Præceptor to the younger *Gordian*, and was poſſeſſed of a fine Library which his Father had begun to collect. The Stile of this Poem of *Sammonicus* is low and dull, but the Expreſſions are juſt, and the Language pure.

Calphurnius, a *Bucolic* Poet of *Sicily*, flouriſhed under the Emperors *Carinus* and *Numerianus*. There are ſeven of his Eclogues addreſſed to *Nemeſianus*, a Man of Quality, and his Patron, and a fellow Poet. Some of the Critics have not ſcrupled to give *Calphurnius* the next place to *Virgil* among the Paſtoral Writers; and *Fontenelle*, in his fine Diſcourſe on Paſtoral Poetry, ſeems to join with them.

Nemesianus, abovementioned, was likewiſe a Writer of Eclogues, of which there are Four extant, which are not in ſo good a Taſte, being neither ſo well conducted, nor in ſo lovely a Stile as thoſe of *Calphurnius*. But his Poem on hunting gained him more Reputation, though it is not in ſo pure a Stile as that of *Gratian*. Such was the Eſteem of this Poem in the 8th and 9th Centuries, that it was publickly read in the Schools under the Emperor *Charles* the Great, and ſome of his Succeſſors. But I fear this may reaſonably be taken as an Argument of the bad Taſte of the Age, at leaſt as much as of the Excellency of this Poem of *Nemeſianus*.

Rufus Festus Avienus flouriſhed under *Theodoſius* the Great, and was partly Cotemporary with *Claudian*. He has made an elegant Tranſlation of the *Phænomena* of *Aratus*, and the *Periegeſis*, or Geographical Deſcription of the World of *Dionyſius*. He alſo turned ſome Pieces of *Livy* into Iambic Verſe, as he did ſome ſelect Stories from *Virgil*. But there is nothing of theſe two laſt extant. We have about Forty Fables of *Æſop* rendered by *Avienus* in Elegiac Verſe, and dedicated to *Theodoſius*. In general the Critics have a favourable Opinion of this Poet's Writings. His Stile is eaſy and ſometimes elegant, and might paſs for the Work of a better Age, had not *Claudian* written about the ſame Time.

P. RUTILIUS NUMATIANUS GALLUS flouriſhed under *Honorius*. We have nothing of this Poet's extant, but part of his Journey or Itinerary through part of *Italy*, which he is ſaid to have written after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric* King of the *Goths* in the Year of *Chriſt* 410. From what remains, we may judge it was an elegant and lively Performance, though his Equity and Judgment may be called in queſtion for thoſe maligant Invectives, which he makes both againſt the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*.

With this Author expired the Spirit of *Roman* Poetry; for now Barbarity and Ignorance advanced apace, and the few learned, who appeared from time to time for ſome Ages afterwards, conſecrated their Muſe to the Cauſe of Religion, and to propagate and defend the great Truths of *Chriſtianity* againſt the attacks of Infidels, and to the Inſtruction of thoſe ſavage and barbarous Nations, who had not ceaſed for ſome ages to invade the *Roman* Empire, which was at length become their Prey; and who were now eſtabliſhed under their ſeveral Governments in all the parts of the Weſtern Empire, which was now at an End. The whole Period of Time from *Livius Andronicus* the year of *Rome* 514, and before CHRIST 239, to the taking of *Rome* in 410, includes a Period of about 650 Years. Of which, for the conveniency of the young Student, and to aſſiſt his Memory, I have drawn up the following Chronological Table.

*FINIS.*

| Years of *Rome*. | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c. |
| --- | --- |
| 514 | —*Livius Andronicus* brings his first Play on the Stage. |
| 515 | —*Ennius* born. |
| 516 | |
| 517 | |
| 518 | |
| 519 | —*Nævius* publishes his first Play. |
| 520 | |
| 521 | |
| 522 | |
| 523 | |
| 524 | |
| 525 | |
| 526 | |
| 527 | —*Plautus* born about this time. |
| 428 | |
| 529 | |
| 530 | |
| 531 | |
| 532 | |
| 533 | *Pacuvius* the Tragic Poet born. |
| 534 | |
| 535 | |
| 536 | |
| 537 | |
| 538 | |
| 539 | |
| 540 | |
| 541 | |
| 542 | |
| 543 | |

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| Years before *Chriſt.* | CONSULS. |
|---|---|
| 239 | C. Manlius Turrinus, Q. Valerius Falco. |
| 238 | T. Sempronius Gracchus, P. Cornelius Falco. |
| 237 | L. Cornelius Lentulus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus. |
| 236 | C. Licinius Varus, P. Cornelius Lentulus. |
| 235 | T. Manlius Torquatus, C. Attilius Bubulcus. |
| 234 | L. Poſthumius Albinus, Sp. Carvilius Maximus. |
| 233 | Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucoſus, M. Pomponius Matho. |
| 232 | M. Æmilius Lepidus. M. Publicius Malleolus. |
| 231 | C. Papyrius Maſo, M. Pomponius Matho. |
| 230 | M. Æmilius Barbula, M. Junius Pera, II. |
| 229 | L. Poſthumius Albinus, Cn Fulvius Centumalus. |
| 228 | Q. Fabius Maximus II. S. Carvilius Maximus II. |
| 227 | P. Valerius Flaccus, M. Attilius Regulus. |
| 226 | L. Apuſtius Fullo, M. Valerius Meſſalla. |
| 225 | C. Attilius Regulus, L. Æmilius Papus. |
| 224 | T.Manlius Torquatus III. Q.Fulvius Flaccus II. |
| 223 | P. Flaminius, P. Furius Philus. |
| 222 | M. Claudius Marcellus, Cn. Cornelius Scipio. |
| 221 | P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina, M. Minucius Rufus. |
| 220 | L. Veturius Philo, C. Lutatius Scævola. |
| 219 | M. Livius Salinator, S. Æmilius Paulus. |
| 218 | P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina, T. Sempronius Longus. |
| 217 | Cn. Servilius Geminus, C. Flaminius II. |
| 216 | L. Æmilius Paulus II. C. Terentius Varro. |
| 215 | L.Poſthumius Albinus III. Q.Fabius Maximus II. T. Sempronius Gracchus. |
| 214 | M.Claudius Marcellus III.Q.Fabius Maximus IV. |
| 213 | Q. Fabius Maximus V. Sempronius Gracchus II. |
| 212 | Q. Fulvius Flaccus III. Ap. Claudius Pulcher. |
| 211 | Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, P. Sulpicius Galba. |
| 210 | M.Claudius Marcellus IV. M.Valerius Livinus. |

Years of Rome.

## *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.*

544
545
546
547
548
549 —*Nævius* dies. *Scipio* goes into *Africa.*
550
551
552
553
554 —*Plautus* flourished at *Rome*, and M. *Acuticus*,
555 a *Comic* Poet, and M. *Plautius*, and *Cn. A-*
556 *quilius*, likewise *Comic* Writers.
557
558
559 —*Terence* born.
560
561
562
563
564 —*Porcius Licinius* flourishes, a *Comic* Poet.
565
566
567
568
569
570 —*Plautus* dies. *Scipio Æmilianus* born.
571
572
573

Q. Fabius

## CONSULS.

| Years before *Christ.* | |
|---|---|
| 209 | Q. Fabius Maximus V. Q. Fulvius Flaccus IV. |
| 208 | M. Marcellus V. T. Quintus Crispinus, |
| 207 | C. Claudius Nero, M. Livius Salinator. |
| 206 | L. Veturius Philo, Q. Cæcilius Metellus. |
| 205 | P. Cornelius Scipio, P. Licinius Crassus Pont: Maximus. |
| 204 | P. Sempronius Tuditanus, M. Cornelius Cethegus. |
| 203 | Cn. Servilius Cæpio, C. Servilius Geminus. |
| 202 | M. Servilius Geminus, T. Claudius Nero. |
| 201 | Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Ælius Pætus. |
| 200 | C. Sulpitius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta. |
| 199 | L. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Villius Tappulus. |
| 198 | T. Quintius Flaminius, Sex. Ælius Pætus. |
| 197 | C. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. Minucius. |
| 196 | L. Furius Purpureo, M. Claudius Marcellus. |
| 195 | M. Portius Cato, L. Valerius Flaccus. |
| 194 | P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus II. T. Sempronius Longus, |
| 193 | L. Cornelius Merula, Q. Minucius Thermus. |
| 192 | L. Quintius Flaminius, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. |
| 191 | P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, M. Acilius Glabrio. |
| 190 | L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Lelius. |
| 189 | M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Volso. |
| 188 | M. Livius Salinator, M. Valerius Messala. |
| 187 | M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Flaminius Nepos. |
| 186 | Sp. Posthumius Albinus, Q. Marcius Philippus. |
| 185 | Ap. Claudius Pulcher, M. Sempronius Tuditanus. |
| 184 | P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Portius Licinius. |
| 183 | Q. Fabius Labeo, M. Claudius Marcellus. |
| 182 | L. Æmilius Paulus, Cn. Bæbius Pamphilus. |
| 181 | P. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Bæbius Pamphilus. |
| 180 | A. Posthumus Albinus, C. Calpurnius Piso. |

Years of Rome. *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.*

574 —*Trebea*, the *Comic* Poet, flouriſhes about this
575 time, and *Turpilius*, another *Comic* Poet,
576 born.
577

578
579
580
581
582
583 —*Attius*, the *Tragic* Poet born.

584 —*Ennius* dies.
585 —*Statius Cæcilius* the *Comic* Poet dies.
586
587 —The *Andria* of *Terence* firſt acted.
588 —The *Hecyra* of *Terence* acted.
589
590 —The *Heautontimorumenos*.
591
592 —The *Eunuch* at the beginning, and the *Phormio* at the end of the year.
593 —The *Adelphi*.

594 *Terence* dies.
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603—*Attilius*, the Comic Poet, flouriſhed about this Time, when the 3d *Punic* War began.
604 —*Carthage* taken by *Scipio Æmilianus*.
605

L. Manlius

| Years before *Christ*. | CONSULS. |
|---|---|
| 179 | L. Manlius Acidinus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus. |
| 178 | M. Junius Brutus, A. Manlius Volſo. |
| 177 | Claudius Pulcher, T. Sempronius Gracchus. |
| 176 | Q. Petilius Spurinus, Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus. |
| 175 | M. Æmilius Lepidus II. P. Minucius Scævola. |
| 174 | Sp. Poſthumius Albinus, Q. Mucius Scævola. |
| 173 | L. Popilius Albinus, M. Popilius Lænas. |
| 172 | C. Popilius Lænas, P. Ælius Ligur. |
| 171 | P. Licinius Craſſus, C. Caſſius Longinus. |
| 170 | Q. Martius Philippus II. Q. Servilius Cæpio. |
| 169 | Q. Martius Philippus III. Cn. Servilius Cæpio, |
| 168 | L. Æmilius Paulus II. P. Licinius Craſſus. |
| 167 | Q. Ælius Pætus, M. Junius Pennus. |
| 166 | M. Claudius Marcellus, P. Sulpitius Gallus. |
| 165 | Cn. Octavius, T. Manlius Torquatus. |
| 164 | A. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Caſſius Longinus. |
| 163 | T. Sempronius Gracchus, M. Juventius Talva. |
| 162 | P. Scipio Naſica, C. Marcius Figulus. |
| 161 | M. Valerius Meſſalla, C. Fannius Strabo. |
| 160 | L. Anicius Gallus, M. Cornelius Cethegus, |
| 159 | Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, M. Fulvius Nobilior. |
| 158 | M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Popilius Lænas. |
| 157 | Sex. Julius Cæſar, L. Aurelius Oreſtes. |
| 156 | L. Cornelius Lentulus, C. Martius Figulus II. |
| 155 | P. Cornelius Scipio II. M. Claudius Marcellus II. |
| 154 | Q. Opimius Nepos, L. Poſthumius Albinus. |
| 153 | Q. Fulvius Nobilior, T. Annius Luſcus. |
| 152 | M. Claudius Marcellus, L. Valerius Flaccus. |
| 151 | L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Poſthumius Albinus. |
| 150 | L. Quinctius Flaminius, M. Acilius Balbus. |
| 149 | L. Martius Cenſorinus, M. Manlius. |
| 148 | Sp. Poſthumius Albinus, L. Calpurnius Piſo. |

| Years of Rome. | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
|---|---|
| 606 | |
| 607 | |
| 608 | |
| 609 | |
| 610 | |
| 611 | |
| 612 | |
| 613 | — *Pacuvius* being 80 years old, published his last Tragedy. *Attius* the Tragic Poet being |
| 614 | now 30, wrote his first Play. |
| 615 | |
| 616 | |
| 617 | |
| 618 | |
| 619 | |
| 620 | |
| 621 | |
| 622 | |
| 623 | |
| 624 | |
| 625 | |
| 626 | |
| 627 | |
| 628 | |
| 629 | |
| 630 | |
| 631 | |
| 632 | |
| 633 | —About this Time *Afranius* the Comic Poet flourished. |
| 634 | |
| 635 | |

P. Cornelius

Years before *Christ*.

# CONSULS.

147 P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, C. Livius Drusus.
146 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, L. Mummius.
145 Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, L. Hostilius Mancinus.
144 Ser. Sulpitius Galba, L. Aurelius Cotta.
143 Appius Claudius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
142 L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.
141 Q. Servilius Cæpio, Q. Pompeïus Rufus.
140 Q. Servilius Cæpio, C. Lœtius.

139 C. Calpurnius, M. Popilius Lœnas.
138 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, D. Junius Brutus.
137 M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Hostilius Mancinus.
136 P. Furius Philus, Sex. Attilius Serranus.
135 Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Calpurnius Piso.
134 P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus II. C. Fulvius Flaccus.
133 P. Mucius Scævola, L. Calpurnius Piso.
132 P. Popilius Lœnas, P. Rupilius Nepos.
131 P. Licinius Crassus, L. Valerius Flaccus.
130 Ap. Claudius, M. Perpenna.

129 M. Aquilius, C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
128 Cn. Octavius, T. Annius.
127 P. Cassius Longinus, L. Cornelius Cinna.
126 M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Aurelius Orestes.
125 M. Plautius Hypsæus, M. Fulvius Flaccus.
124 C. Cassius Longinus, C. Sextius Calvinus.
123 Q. Cæcilius Metellus, T. Quinctius Flaminius.
122 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Fannius Strabo.
121 Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Opimius Nepos.
120 P. Manlius, C. Papyrius Carbo.

119 L. Cæcilius Metellus, L. Aurelius Cotta.
118 M. Porcius Cato, Q. Martius Rex.

*Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.*

Years of *Rome.*

636
637 —*Novius*, the Writer of *Attellane* Plays, flourish'd about this Time.
638 —*M. Terentius Varro*, the most learn'd *Roman*
639 of his Time born.
640
641
642
643 —*Mummius* flourishes, a Writer of *Attellane* Plays, and *Pomponius* of *Bologna*, a Poet who
644 wrote in the same way.
645
646 —*Cicero* born.
647 —*Varro Atacinus*, an Epic Poet, born about
648 this Time.
649 —*Turpilius*, the Comic Poet, dies. *Furius Bibaculus* the *Lyric* Poet born.
650 *Lutatius Catulus*, the Consul this Year, was a
651 good Epigrammatist.
652
653 —*C. Titius* flourishes. A Tragic Poet and great Orator.
654
655
656
657
658 —*Lucretius* born.
659
660
661
662
663
664 —*C. Julius Cæsar Strabo*, Ædile this Year.
665 He was a fine Tragic Poet.

L. Cæcilius

| Years before *Chriſt.* | CONSULS. |
|---|---|
| 117 | L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Mucius Scævola Augur. |
| 116 | C. Licinius Geta, Q. Fabius Maximus. |
| 115 | M. Æmilius Scaurus, M. Cæcilius Metellus. |
| 114 | M. Acilius Balbus, C. Cato Grandſon of Cato the Cenſor. |
| 113 | C. Cæcilius Metellus, Cn. Papyrius Carbo. |
| 112 | M. Livius Druſus, L. Calpurnius Piſo. |
| 111 | P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica, L. Calpurnius Beſtia. |
| 110 | Sp. Poſthumius Albinus, Q. Minucius Rufus. |
| 109 | Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus, M. Junius Silanus. |
| 108 | Serg. Galba, M. Aurelius Scaurus. |
| 107 | L. Caſſius, C. Marius. |
| 106 | Q. Servilius Cæpio, C. Attilius Serranus. |
| 105 | P. Rutilius Rufus, C. Manilius. |
| 104 | C. Marius II. C Flavius Fimbria. |
| 103 | C. Marius III. L. Aurelius Oreſtes. |
| 102 | C. Marius IV. Q. Lutatius Catulus. |
| 101 | C. Marius V. Manius Aquilius. |
| 100 | C. Marius VI. L. Valerius Flaccus. |
| 99 | M. Antonius, A. Poſthumius Albinus. |
| 98 | Q. Cælius Metellus Nepos, T. Didius. |
| 97 | Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, C. Licinius Craſſus. |
| 96 | Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Caſſius Longinus. |
| 95 | L. Licinius Craſſus, Q. Mucius Scævola. |
| 94 | C. Cælius Calvus, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. |
| 93 | C. Valerius Flaccus, M. Herennius. |
| 92 | C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perpenna. |
| 91 | D. Marcius Philippus, Sex. Julius Cæſar. |
| 90 | C. Julius Cæſar, P. Rutilius Lupus. |
| 89 | L. Porcius Cato, Cn. Pomponius Strabo. |
| 88 | L. Cornelius Sulla, Q. Pompeius Rufus. |

| Years of Rome. | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Emperors, &c.* |
|---|---|
| 666 | |
| 667 | —*Catulus* dies. |
| 668 | |
| 669 | |
| 670 | |
| 671 | |
| 672 | —*Valerius Cato*, the Elegiac Poet flouriſhes. |
| 673 | —*Titus Quinctius Atta*, the Comic Poet dies. |
| 674 | —*Bibaculus* flouriſhes. |
| 675 | |
| 676 | |
| 677 | |
| 678 | |
| 679 | |
| 680 | |
| 681 | |
| 682 | |
| 683 | —*Rabirius* flouriſhes, an excellent Epic Poet. |
| 684 | —*Virgil* born. |
| 685 | |
| 686 | |
| 687 | |
| 688 | —*Horace* born. |
| 689 | |
| 690 | |
| 691 | |
| 692 | |
| 693 | |
| 694 | —About this time flouriſhed *Calidius*, an excel- |
| 695 | lent Poet, according to the Hiſtorian *Corn.* |
| 696 | *Nepos*. |

Cn. Octavius,

Years before *Christ.*

# CONSULS.

87 Cn. Octavius, L. Cornelius Cinna.
86 Cn. Marius VII. L. Cornelius Cinna II.
85 L. Cornelius Cinna III. Cn. Papyrius Carbo.
84 L. Cornelius Cinna IV. Cn. Papyrius Carbo II.
83 L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, Cn. Norbanus Flaccus.
82 Cn. Papyrius Carbo III. C. Marius, C. Filius.
81 M. Tullus Lecula, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
80 L. Cornelius Sulla II. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

79 P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
78 M. Æmilius Lepidus, Q. Lutatius Catulus.
77 D. Junius Brutus, M. Æmilius Lepidus.
76 Cn. Octavius, C. Scribonius.
75 L. Octavius, C. Aurelius Cotta.
74 L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Aurelius Cotta.
73 M. Terentius Varro, C. Cassius Varus.
72 L. Gellius Poplicola, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.
71 Cn. Aufidius Orestes, P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.
70 Cn. Pompeius Magnus, M. Licinius Crassus.

69 Q. Hortensius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
68 L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Marcius Rex.
67 C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Acilius Glabrio.
66 M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Volcatius Tullus.
65 L. Aurelius Cotta, L. Manlius Torquatus.
64 L. Julius Cæsar, C. Martius Figulus.
63 M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius Nepos.
62 D. Junius Silanus, L. Licinius Murena.
61 M. Pupius Piso, M. Valerius Messala.
60 Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, L. Africanus.

59 C. Julius Cæsar, M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
58 L. Calpurnius Piso, A. Gabinius.
57 P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, C. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

| Years of Rome. | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
| --- | --- |
| 697 | |
| 698 | |
| 699 | |
| 700 | |
| 701 | —*Lucretius* dies. |
| 702 | |
| 703 | |
| 704 | |
| 705 | —*Laberius* the Writer of *Mimes* flouriſhes. |
| 706 | —*Phædrus* born about this time. |
| 707 | —About this time *Propertius* born. |
| 708 | |
| 709 | |
| 710 | *Laberius* dies. *P. Syrus* flouriſhes. *Tibullus* and *Ovid* born. |
| 711 | |
| 712 | |
| 713 | —*Virgil* writes his firſt Eclogue. |
| 714 | ——*Virgil* writes his 4th Eclogue, *Auguſtus* and *Anthony* reconcil'd. *Horace*'s Journey to *Brundusium*. |
| 715 | ——*Pollio* triumphs over the *Illyrians*, *Virgil* writes the 8th Eclogue. |
| 716 | ——The War renewed between *Sextus Pompey*, |
| 717 | and *Auguſtus*. *Virgil*'s 10th Eclogue. |
| 718 | |
| 719 | |
| 720 | |
| 721 | |
| 722 | |

Cn. Cornelius

Years before *Christ.*

# CONSULS.

56 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius Philippus.
55 Cn. Pompeiüs Magnus II. M. Licinius Craſſus.
54 L. Domitius Ænobarbus, Ap. Claud. Pulcher.
53 Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Meſſala.
52 Cn. Pompeiüs Magnus, he had no Collegue.
51 Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, M. Claudius Marcellus.
50 L. Æmilius Paulus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

49 C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus.
48 C. Julius Cæſar II. P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus.
47 C. Julius Cæſar Dictator II. Mag. Equitum M. Antonius.
46 C. Julius Cæſar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
45 C. Julius Cæſar Dictator IV. Mag. Equitum M. Lepidus.
44 C. Julius Cæſar Dictator V. Mag. Equitum M. Antonius.
43 C. Vibius Panſa A. Hirtius, C. Octavius Cæſar, Q. Pedius.
42 M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Munatius Plancus.
41 P. Servilius Iſauricus II. L. Antonius.
40 Cn. Domitius Calvinus II. C. Aſinius Pollio.

39 L. Marius Cenſorinus, C. Calviſius Sabinus.

38 Appius Claudius Pulcher, C. Norbanus Flaccus.

37 M. Vipſanius Agrippa, L. Caninius Gallus.
36 L. Gellius Poplicola, C. Cocceiüs Nerva.
35 Sex. Pompeiüs, L. Cornificius.
34 M. Antonius II. L. Scribonius Libo.
33 C. Cæſar Octavianus II. L. Volcatius Tullus.
32 Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, C. Soſius.
31 C. Cæſar III. M. Meſſala Corvinus—of *Auguſtus* 13th Year.

The

| Years of Rome. | *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Emperors, &c.* |
| --- | --- |
| 723 | ——The Battle of *Actium.* |
| 724 | ——*Virgil* finiſhes his *Georgics.* |
| 725 | ——*Auguſtus* triumphs three times, and ſhuts |
| 726 | the Temple of *Janus.* |
| 727 | ——*Octavianus* receives the Title of *Auguſtus* from the Senate. |
| 728 | ——*Cornelius Galius* the Favourite of *Auguſtus,* |
| 729 | and Governour of *Egypt,* and an *Elegiac* Poet, |
| 730 | kills himſelf. |
| 731 | ——*Marcellus* dies. |
| 732 | |
| 733 | ——*Auguſtus*'s Expedition into *Greece* and *Aſia.* |
| 734 | |
| 735 | ——*Virgil* dies. |
| 736 | |
| 737 | |
| 738 | |
| 739 | ——*Pedo Albinovanus* flouriſhed about this Time. |
| 740 | |
| 741 | |
| 742 | ——*Tibullus* dies. |
| 743 | |
| 744 | |

AUGUSTUS, after the Battle of *Actium*, and *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*'s Defeat and Death in *Egypt*, became sole Master and Emperor of the *Romans*; from thence therefore I choose to reckon by the Years of the Emperors, the Consuls having now only the Shadow of their former Authority left them.

| Years before *Christ*. | EMPERORS. | |
|---|---|---|
| 30 | *Augustus* Cæsar. | 1 |
| 29 | | 2 |
| 28 | | 3 |
| 27 | | 4 |
| 26 | | 5 |
| 25 | | 6 |
| 24 | | 7 |
| 23 | | 8 |
| 22 | | 9 |
| 21 | | 10 |
| 20 | | 11 |
| 19 | | 12 |
| 18 | | 13 |
| 17 | | 14 |
| 16 | | 15 |
| 15 | | 16 |
| 14 | | 17 |
| 13 | | 18 |
| 12 | | 19 |
| 11 | | 20 |
| 10 | | 21 |
| 9 | | 22 |

*Horace*

Years of Rome. *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.*

745 —*Horace*
746
747
748
749
750
751 —*Tiberius* retires to *Rhodes.*
752

753 —*Seneca* the Philosopher and Tragic Poet born.
754 —*Melissus* the Comic Poet flourishes, and
755 *Turanius* a Tragic Poet.
756
757
758
759
760 —*Ovid* banished to *Tomi.*
761 —*Quintilius Varrus* with his Legions cut off
762 in *Germany*. About this Time *Mamilius* had
written part of his *Astronomics*, which he lived
763 not to finish; he died before *Augustus*.
764
765
766
767 —*Ovid* dies.
768
769
770
771
772

773
774
775
776

*Augustus*

# EMPERORS.

| Years before Christ. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | ——*Augustus.* | 23 | |
| 7 | | 24 | |
| 6 | | 25 | |
| 5 | | 26 | |
| 4 | | 27 | |
| 3 | | 28 | |
| 2 | | 29 | |
| 1 | | 30 | |
| Years after Christ; | | | |
| 1 | | 31 | |
| 2 | | 32 | |
| 3 | | 33 | |
| 4 | | 34 | |
| 5 | | 35 | |
| 6 | | 36 | |
| 7 | | 37 | |
| 8 | | 38 | |
| 9 | | 39 | |
| 10 | | 40 | |
| 11 | | 41 | |
| 12 | | 42 | |
| 13 | —*Augustus* dies. | 43 | —*Tiberius* succeeds. |
| 14 | —*Tiberius.* | 2 | |
| 15 | | 3 | |
| 16 | | 4 | |
| 17 | | 5 | |
| 18 | | 6 | |
| 19 | | 7 | |
| 20 | | 8 | |
| 21 | | 9 | |
| 22 | | 10 | |
| 23 | | 11 | |
| 24 | | 12 | |

| Years of Rome. | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
|---|---|
| 777 | |
| 778 | |
| 779 | |
| 780 | |
| 781 | |
| 782 | —*Pomponius Secundus* the Tragic Poet flouriſhes. |
| 783 | —*Phædrus* dies about this Time. |
| 784 | |
| 785 | |
| 786 | —*Silius Italicus* born about this Time. |
| 787 | —*Perſius* born. |
| 788 | |
| 789 | —*Lucan* born. *Saleius Baſſus* born about the ſame Time. |
| 790 | |
| 791 | |
| 792 | |
| 793 | —*Statius* born about this Time. |
| 794 | —*Seneca* baniſhed to *Corſica*. |
| 795 | |
| 796 | |
| 797 | —*Juvenal* born. |
| 798 | |
| 799 | |
| 800 | *Martial* born. |
| 801 | |
| 802 | —*Seneca* recalled from Baniſhment. |
| 803 | |
| 804 | |
| 805 | |
| 806 | |
| 807 | |
| 808 | |
| 809 | |
| 810 | |

| Years after Christ. | EMPERORS. |
|---|---|
| 25 | 13 |
| 26 | 14 |
| 27 | 15 |
| 28 | 16 |
| 29 | 17 |
| 30 | 18 |
| 31 | 19 |
| 32 | 20 |
| 33 | 21 |
| 34 | 22 |
| 35 —*Tiberius* dies. | 23 |
| 36 —*Caligula.* | 1 |
| 37 | 2 |
| 38 | 3 |
| 39 —*Caligula* dies. | 4 |
| 40 —*Claudius.* | 1 |
| 41 | 2 |
| 42 | 3 |
| 43 | 4 |
| 44 | 5 |
| 45 | 6 |
| 46 | 7 |
| 47 | 8 |
| 48 | 9 |
| 49 | 10 |
| 50 | 11 |
| 51 | 12 |
| 52 | 13 |
| 53 | 14 |
| 54 —*Nero* | 1 |
| 55 | 2 |
| 56 | 3 |
| 57 | 4 |
| 58 | 5 |

| Years of Rome. | *Miscellaneous Remarks on the Roman Poets, &c.* |
|---|---|
| 811 | |
| 812 | ——*Sallus Bassus* flourishes. |
| 813 | |
| 814 | |
| 815 | |
| 816 | *Lucan* and *Seneca* die by *Nero*'s Order, and *Persius* the *Satirist* dies about this Time. |
| 817 | ——*Petronius Arbiter* dies. |
| 818 | |
| 819 | ——This Year *Silius Italicus* was Consul. |
| 820 | |
| 821 | |
| 822 | ——*Martial* comes to *Rome*. |
| 823 | |
| 824 | |
| 825 | —*Valerius Flaccus* flourished about this time. |
| 826 | |
| 827 | |
| 828 | —*Volcatius Sedigitus* flourishes, |
| 829 | |
| 830 | |
| 831 | |
| 832 | |
| 833 | —*Aulus Serenus* flourishes |
| 834 | |
| 835 | |
| 836 | |
| 837 | |
| 838 | —*Stella* flourishes. |
| 839 | |
| 840 | —*Maurus Terentianus*. |
| 841 | |
| 842 | —*Sulpitia* the Poetess. |

| Years after *Christ.* | EMPERORS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 59 | | 6 | |
| 60 | | 7 | |
| 61 | | 8 | |
| 62 | | 9 | |
| 63 | | 10 | |
| 64 | | 11 | |
| 65 | | 12 | |
| 66 | | 13 | |
| 67 | —*Nero* dies. | 14 | *Galba* succeeds. (*Vitell.* |
| 68 | —*Galbo* dies. | 1 | *Otho* succeeds, and then |
| 69 | —*Vitellius* dies. | 1 | *Vespasian* succeeds. |
| 70 | —*Vespasian.* | 1 | |
| 71 | | 2 | |
| 72 | | 3 | |
| 73 | | 4 | |
| 74 | | 5 | |
| 75 | | 6 | |
| 76 | | 7 | |
| 77 | | 8 | |
| 78 | | 9 | |
| 79 | —*Vespasian* dies. | 10 | *Titus* his Son succeeds. |
| 80 | —*Titus.* | 1 | |
| 81 | | 2 | |
| 82 | —*Titus* dies. | 3 | *Domitian* his Brother suc- (ceeds. |
| 83 | —*Domitian.* | 2 | |
| 84 | | 3 | |
| 85 | | 4 | |
| 86 | | 5 | |
| 87 | | 6 | |
| 88 | | 7 | |
| 89 | | 8 | |
| 90 | | 9 | |

| Years of *Rome.* | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
| --- | --- |
| 843 | |
| 844 | |
| 845 | —*Juvenal* publiſhed his Satire for which he was |
| 846 | baniſhed into *Ægypt* by *Domitian.* |
| 847 | |
| 848 | |
| 849 | —*Juvenal* returns to *Rome.* |
| 850 | |
| 851 | |
| 852 | |
| 853 | |
| 854 | —About this time *Statius* dies, and *Silius Ita-* |
| 855 | *licus.* |
| 856 | —*Martial* retires to his native City *Bilbilis* in |
| 857 | *Spain.* |
| 858 | |
| 859 | |
| 860 | |
| 861 | —About this time *Martial* dies. |
| 862 | |
| 863 | —*Voconius* and *Paſſienus* flouriſh. |
| 864 | |
| 865 | |
| 866 | |
| 867 | |
| 868 | |
| 869 | |
| 870 | |
| 871 | —*Juvenal* writes his 13th Satire. |
| 872 | |
| 873 | |
| 874 | |
| 875 | |
| 876 | |

*Domitian*

# EMPERORS.

| Years after *Christ.* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 91 | | 10 | |
| 92 | | 11 | |
| 93 | | 12 | |
| 94 | | 13 | |
| 95 | | 14 | |
| 96 | —*Domitian* dies. | 15 | |
| 97 | —*Nerva.* | 1 | |
| 98 | *Nerva* dies. | 2 | *Trajan* ſucceeds. |
| 99 | *Trajan.* | 2 | |
| 100 | | 3 | |
| 101 | | 4 | |
| 102 | | 5 | |
| 103 | | 6 | |
| 104 | | 7 | |
| 105 | | 8 | |
| 106 | | 9 | |
| 107 | | 10 | |
| 108 | | 11 | |
| 109 | | 12 | |
| 110 | | 13 | |
| 111 | | 14 | |
| 112 | | 15 | |
| 113 | | 16 | |
| 114 | | 17 | |
| 115 | | 18 | |
| 116 | | 19 | |
| 117 | —*Trajan* dies. | 20 | —*Adrian* ſucceeds. |
| 118 | —*Adrian.* | 2 | |
| 119 | | 3 | |
| 120 | | 4 | |
| 121 | | 5 | |
| 122 | | 6 | |
| 123 | | 7 | |
| 124 | | 8 | |

| Years of *Rome.* | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
| --- | --- |
| 877 | |
| 878 | |
| 879 | —*Juvenal* dies. |
| 880 | |
| 881 | |
| 882 | |
| 883 | |
| 884 | |
| 885 | |
| 886 | |
| 887 | |
| 888 | |
| 889 | |
| 890 | |
| 891 | |
| 892 | |
| 893 | |
| 894 | |
| 895 | |
| 896 | |
| 897 | |
| 898 | |
| 899 | |
| 900 | |
| 901 | |
| 902 | —*Palladius* flouriſhes about this time. |
| 903 | |
| 904 | |
| 905 | |
| 906 | |
| 907 | |
| 908 | |
| 909 | |
| 910 | |

| Years after *Christ*. | EMPERORS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 125 | | 9 | |
| 126 | | 10 | |
| 127 | | 11 | |
| 128 | | 12 | |
| 129 | | 13 | |
| 130 | | 14 | |
| 131 | | 15 | |
| 132 | | 16 | |
| 133 | | 17 | |
| 134 | | 18 | |
| 135 | | 19 | |
| 136 | | 20 | |
| 137 | —*Adrian* dies. | 21 | *Antoninus Pius* succeeds. |
| 138 | —*Antoninus Pius*. | 1 | |
| 139 | | 2 | |
| 140 | | 3 | |
| 141 | | 4 | |
| 142 | | 5 | |
| 143 | | 6 | |
| 144 | | 7 | |
| 145 | | 8 | |
| 146 | | 9 | |
| 147 | | 10 | |
| 148 | | 11 | |
| 149 | | 12 | |
| 150 | | 13 | |
| 151 | | 14 | |
| 152 | | 15 | |
| 153 | | 16 | |
| 154 | | 17 | |
| 155 | | 18 | |
| 156 | | 19 | |
| 157 | | 20 | |
| 158 | | 21 | |

| Years of *Rome.* | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
| --- | --- |
| 911 | |
| 912 | |
| 913 | |
| 914 | |
| 615 | |
| 616 | |
| 917 | |
| 918 | |
| 919 | |
| 920 | |
| 921 | |
| 922 | —*Marullus* the Writer of *Mimes* flouriſhes. |
| 923 | |
| 924 | |
| 925 | |
| 926 | |
| 927 | |
| 928 | |
| 929 | |
| 930 | |
| 931 | |
| 932 | |
| 933 | |
| 934 | |
| 935 | |
| 936 | |
| 937 | |
| 938 | |
| 939 | |
| 940 | |
| 941 | |
| 942 | |
| 943 | |

*Antoninus*

| Years after Christ. | EMPERORS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 159 | —*Antoninus Pius* dies. | 22 | *Marcus* succeeds. |
| 160 | —*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus.* | 1 | |
| 161 | | 2 | |
| 162 | | 3 | |
| 163 | | 4 | |
| 164 | | 5 | |
| 165 | | 6 | |
| 166 | | 7 | |
| 167 | | 8 | |
| 168 | | 9 | |
| 169 | | 10 | |
| 170 | | 11 | |
| 171 | | 12 | |
| 172 | | 13 | |
| 173 | | 14 | |
| 174 | | 15 | |
| 175 | | 16 | |
| 176 | | 17 | |
| 177 | | 18 | |
| 178 | | 19 | |
| 179 | —*Marcus Aurelius* dies | 20 | *Commodus* succeeds. |
| 180 | —*Commodus* the son of *M. Aurelius.* | 1 | |
| 181 | | 2 | |
| 182 | | 3 | |
| 183 | | 4 | |
| 184 | | 5 | |
| 185 | | 6 | |
| 186 | | 7 | |
| 187 | | 8 | |
| 188 | | 9 | |
| 189 | | 10 | |
| 190 | | 11 | |
| 191 | | 12 | |

| Years of *Rome.* | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
|---|---|
| 944 | |
| 945 | |
| 946 | |
| 947 | |
| 948 | |
| 949 | |
| 950 | |
| 951 | |
| 952 | |
| 953 | |
| 954 | |
| 955 | |
| 956 | |
| 957 | |
| 958 | |
| 959 | |
| 960 | |
| 961 | |
| 962 | |
| 963 | |
| 964 | —*Q. Serenus Sammonicus.* |
| 965 | |
| 966 | |
| 967 | |
| 968 | |
| 969 | |
| 970 | |
| 971 | |
| 972 | |
| 973 | |
| 974 | |
| 975 | |
| 976 | |
| 977 | |

*Commodus*

## EMPERORS.

| Years after Christ. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 192 | —*Commodus* dies. | 13 | |
| 193 | | | *Pertinax* reigned 87 |
| 194 | —*Severus.* | 1 | Days. *Didius Julianus* |
| 195 | | 2 | succeeded, and reign'd |
| 196 | | 3 | 66 Days, and *Severus* |
| 197 | | 4 | succeeded. |
| 198 | | 5 | |
| 199 | | 6 | |
| 200 | | 7 | |
| 201 | | 8 | |
| 202 | | 9 | |
| 203 | | 10 | |
| 204 | | 11 | |
| 205 | | 12 | |
| 206 | | 13 | |
| 207 | | 14 | |
| 208 | | 15 | |
| 209 | | 16 | |
| 210 | | 17 | |
| 211 | —*Severus* dies. | 18 | *Caracalla* succeeds with |
| 212 | — *Caracalla* his | 1 | his Brother whom he |
| 213 | Son. | 2 | kills in his Mother's |
| 214 | | 3 | Arms. |
| 215 | | 4 | |
| 216 | | 5 | |
| 217 | | 6 | |
| 218 | —*Caracalla* dies. | 7 | *Heliogabalus* succeeds. |
| 219 | —*Heliogabalus.* | 2 | |
| 220 | | 3 | |
| 221 | | 4 | |
| 222 | —*Heliogabalus* dies. | 5 | *Alexander Severus* suc- |
| 223 | —*Alexander Severus.* | 1 | ceeds. |
| 224 | | 2 | |
| 225 | | 3 | |

| Years of *Rome.* | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
| --- | --- |
| 978 | |
| 979 | |
| 980 | |
| 981 | |
| 982 | |
| 983 | |
| 984 | |
| 985 | |
| 986 | |
| 987 | |
| 988 | |
| 989 | |
| 990 | |
| 991 | |
| 992 | |
| 993 | |
| 994 | |
| 995 | |
| 996 | |
| 997 | |
| 998 | |
| 999 | |
| 1000 | |
| 1001 | |
| 1002 | |
| 1003 | |
| 1004 | |
| 1005 | |
| 1006 | |
| 1007 | |
| 1008 | |
| 1009 | |
| 1010 | |

*Alexander*

## EMPERORS.

| Years after *Chriſt.* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 226 | | 4 | |
| 227 | | 5 | |
| 228 | | 6 | |
| 229 | | 7 | |
| 230 | | 8 | |
| 231 | | 9 | |
| 232 | | 10 | |
| 233 | | 11 | |
| 234 | | 12 | |
| 235 | *Alexander* dies. | 13 | *Maximin* ſucceeds. |
| 236 | *Maximin.* | 2 | |
| 237 | | 3 | |
| 238 | *Maximin* dies. | 4 | *Gordian* the younger |
| 239 | *Gordian.* | 2 | ſucceeds in conjunction with *Balbinus* and |
| 240 | *Gordian* alone. | 3 | *Pupienus.* |
| 241 | | 4 | |
| 242 | | 5 | |
| 243 | *Gordian* dies. | 6 | *Philippus Arabs* ſuc- |
| 244 | *Philippus.* | 2 | ceeds. |
| 245 | | 3 | |
| 246 | | 4 | |
| 247 | | 5 | |
| 248 | *Philippus* dies | 6 | |
| 249 | *Decius.* | 1 | |
| 250 | *Decius* dies. | 2 | *Gallus* ſucceeds. |
| 251 | *Gallus.* | 1 | *Æmilianus* ſucceeds, |
| 252 | *Gallus* dies. | 2 | and ſoon after him *Va-* |
| 253 | *Valerianus.* | 1 | *lerianus,* who aſſociates his Son *Gallienus.* |
| 254 | *Gallienus.* | 2 | The 30 Tyrants almoſt |
| 255 | | 3 | diſmember the *Roman* |
| 256 | | 4 | Empire at this time. |
| 257 | | 5 | |
| 258 | | 6 | |

| Years of *Rome.* | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets,* &c. |
|---|---|
| 1011 | |
| 1012 | |
| 1013 | |
| 1014 | |
| 1015 | |
| 1016 | |
| 1017 | |
| 1018 | |
| 1019 | |
| 1020 | |
| 1021 | |
| 1022 | |
| 1023 | |
| 1024 | |
| 1025 | |
| 1026 | |
| 1027 | |
| 1028 | |
| 1029 | |
| 1030 | |
| 1031 | |
| 1032 | |
| 1033 | |
| 1034 | |
| 1035 | —*Calpurnius* and *Nemesianus* flourish about this time. |
| 1036 | |
| 1037 | |
| 1038 | |
| 1039 | |
| 1040 | |
| 1041 | |
| 1042 | |
| 1043 | |

*Gallienus*

# EMPERORS.

| Years after *Christ*. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 259 | | 7 | |
| 260 | | 8 | |
| 261 | | 9 | |
| 262 | | 10 | |
| 263 | | 11 | |
| 264 | | 12 | |
| 265 | | 13 | |
| 266 | | 14 | |
| 267 | | 15 | |
| 268 | | 16 | |
| 269 | *Gallienus* dies. | 17 | *Claudius* succeeds. |
| 270 | *Claudius*. | | |
| 271 | *Claudius* dies. | 3 | *Aurelian* succeeds. |
| 272 | *Aurelian*. | 2 | |
| 273 | | 3 | |
| 274 | | 4 | |
| 275 | *Aurelian* dies. | 5 | *Tacitus* succeeds. |
| 276 | *Tacitus* dies. | 2 | *Florianus* his Brother |
| 277 | *Probus*. | 1 | succeeds and dies. |
| 278 | | 2 | |
| 979 | | 3 | |
| 280 | | 4 | |
| 281 | | 5 | |
| 282 | | 6 | |
| 283 | *Probus* dies. | 7 | *Carus* succeeds and as- |
| 284 | *Carus*. | 2 | sociates his sons *Cari-* |
| 285 | *Dioclesian*. | 1 | *nus* and *Numerianus*, |
| 286 | | 2 | who associates *Maxi-* |
| 287 | | 3 | *mian* next Year. |
| 288 | | 4 | |
| 289 | | 5 | |
| 290 | | 6 | |
| 891 | | 7 | |

| Years of Rome. | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.* |
|---|---|
| 1044 | |
| 1045 | |
| 1046 | |
| 1047 | |
| 1048 | |
| 1049 | |
| 1050 | |
| 1051 | |
| 1052 | |
| 1053 | |
| 1054 | |
| 1055 | |
| 1056 | |
| 1057 | |
| 1058 | |
| 1059 | |
| 1060 | |
| 1061 | |
| 1062 | |
| 1063 | |
| 1064 | —*Constantine* takes *Rome,* and defeats the Tyrant *Maxentius.* |
| 1065 | |
| 1066 | |
| 1067 | |
| 1068 | |
| 1069 | |
| 1070 | |
| 1071 | |
| 1072 | ——*Ausonius* born. |
| 1073 | |
| 1074 | |
| 1075 | |

*Dioclesian*

| Years after *Christ*. | EMPERORS. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 292 | | 8 | |
| 293 | | 9 | |
| 294 | | 10 | |
| 295 | | 11 | |
| 296 | | 12 | |
| 297 | | 13 | |
| 298 | | 14 | |
| 299 | | 15 | |
| 300 | | 16 | |
| 301 | | 17 | |
| 302 | | 18 | |
| 303 | | 19 | |
| 304 | | 20 | |
| 305 | ——*Dioclesian* and | 21 | ——*Constantius* and *Ga-* |
| | *Maximiam* renounce | 1 | *lerius* declared Empe- |
| | the Empire. | | rors; *Constantius* dying, |
| 306 | ——*Constantine* the | 2 | his Son *Constantine* suc- |
| 307 | Great. | 3 | ceeds him. |
| 308 | | 4 | |
| 309 | | 5 | |
| 310 | | | |
| 311 | | 6 | |
| 312 | | 7 | |
| 313 | | 8 | |
| 314 | | 9 | |
| 315 | | 10 | |
| 316 | | 11 | |
| 317 | | 12 | |
| 318 | | 13 | |
| 319 | | 14 | |
| 320 | | 15 | |
| 321 | | 16 | |
| 322 | | 17 | |
| 323 | | 18 | |

| Years of *Rome.* | *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Emperors, &c.* |
|---|---|
| 1076 | |
| 1077 | |
| 1078 | |
| 1079 | |
| 1080 | |
| 1081 | |
| 1082 | |
| 1083 | |
| 1084 | |
| 1085 | |
| 1086 | |
| 1087 | |
| 1088 | |
| 1089 | |
| 1090 | |
| 1091 | |
| 1092 | |
| 1093 | |
| 1094 | |
| 1095 | |
| 1096 | |
| 1097 | |
| 1098 | |
| 1099 | |
| 1100 | |
| 1101 | |
| 1102 | |
| 1103 | |
| 1104 | |
| 1105 | |
| 1106 | |
| 1107 | |
| 1108 | |

## EMPERORS.

| Years after Christ. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 324 | —*Constantine* sole Em- | 19 | by the Death of *Gale-* |
| 325 | peror. | 20 | *rius.* |
| 326 | | 21 | |
| 327 | | 22 | |
| 328 | | 23 | |
| 329 | | 24 | |
| 330 | | 25 | |
| 331 | | 26 | |
| 332 | | 27 | |
| 333 | | 28 | |
| 334 | | 29 | |
| 335 | | 30 | |
| 336 | | 31 | |
| 337 | | 32 | |
| 338 | --*Constantine* the Great dies. | 33 | his Sons *Constantine*, *Constans* and *Constan-* |
| 339 | —*Constantius.* | 2 | *tius* divide the Empire. |
| 340 | | 3 | |
| 341 | ——*Constantine* the | 4 | |
| 342 | younger kill'd. | 5 | |
| 343 | | 6 | |
| 344 | | 7 | |
| 345 | | 8 | |
| 346 | | 9 | |
| 347 | | 10 | |
| 348 | | 11 | |
| 349 | | 12 | |
| 350 | | 13 | |
| 351 | | 14 | |
| 352 | | 15 | |
| 353 | ——*Constantius* sole | 16 | |
| 354 | Emperor. | 17 | |
| 355 | | 18 | |
| 356 | | 19 | |

Years of *Rome.* — *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.*

1109
1110
1111
1112

1113
1114
1115
1116
1117—*Claudian* born.
1118
1119
1120
1121
1122

1123
1124
1125
1126
1127
1128—*Ausonius* made Præfect of *Gaul.*
1129
1130
1131—*Rufus Festus Avienus* flourishes.
1132

1133—*Ausonius* Consul this Year.
1134
1135

1136
1137
1138
1139—*Ausonius* dies about this time.
1140
1141

*Constantius*

# EMPERORS.

| Years after *Christ.* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 357 | | 20 | |
| 358 | | 21 | |
| 359 | | 22 | |
| 360 | | 23 | |
| 361 | —*Constantinus* dies. | 24 | —*Julian* the Apostate succeeds. |
| 362 | —*Julian.* | 2 | |
| 363 | —*Julian* dies. | 3 | —*Jovian* succeeds. |
| 364 | —*Jovian* dies. | 1 | —*Valentinian* succeeds, and associates his Brother *Valens*, to whom he gives the Government of the Eastern Empire. |
| 365 | —*Valentinian.* | 2 | |
| 366 | | 3 | |
| 367 | | 4 | |
| 368 | | 5 | |
| 369 | | 6 | |
| 370 | | 7 | |
| 371 | | 8 | |
| 372 | | 9 | |
| 373 | | 10 | |
| 374 | | 11 | |
| 375 | —*Valentinian* dies | 12 | ——*Gratian* and *Valentinian* the IId, whom he had before associated, succeed. |
| 376 | —*Gratian* and *Valentinian.* | 2 | |
| 377 | | 3 | |
| 378 | | 4 | |
| 379 | —*Theodosius* the Great associated by *Gratian*, who yields him the East. | 5 | |
| 380 | | 6 | |
| 381 | | 7 | |
| 382 | | 8 | |
| 383 | ——*Gratian* killed by *Maximus.* | 9 | |
| 384 | —*Valentinian* alone. | 10 | |
| 385 | | 11 | |
| 386 | | 12 | |
| 387 | | 13 | |
| 388 | | 14 | |
| 389 | | 15 | |

*P. Rutilius,*

Years of *Rome.* — *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets,* &c.

1142

1143
1144

1145

1146

1147—*P. Rutilius Numatianus*——*Claudian* comes firſt to *Rome* about 30 Years of Age.
1148
1149
1150
1151
1152

1153
1154
1155
1156
1157
1158
1159
1160
1161
1162

*N. B.* I have not inſiſted on all the particular Events relating to each Poet, becauſe that would have ſwell'd this TABLE to an immoderate Size, and becauſe many remarkable Events often fell out the ſame Year, of which ſeveral Poets that were Cotemporary might take Notice: So that I might have filled a Page ſometimes with the Events of one Year. And the Reader will find this partly done to his Hand in the *Chronologia Virgiliana, Horatiana,* &c.

*Valentinian*

| Years after *Christ*. | EMPERORS. | |
|---|---|---|
| 390 | | 16 |
| 391 | | 17 |
| 392 | —*Valentinian* killed by *Arbogastus*. | 18 |
| 393 | —*Theodosius* alone, in both Eastern and Western Empires. | |
| 394 | —*Eugenius* proclaim'd Emperor and acknowledg'd by *Theodosius*, but both dying soon after, *Honorius* succeeds. | |
| 395 | —*Honorius*. | 2 |
| 396 | | 3 |
| 397 | | 4 |
| 398 | | 5 |
| 399 | | 6 |
| 400 | | 7 |
| 401 | | 8 |
| 402 | | 9 |
| 403 | | 10 |
| 404 | | 11 |
| 405 | | 12 |
| 406 | | 13 |
| 407 | | 14 |
| 408 | | 15 |
| 409 | | 16 |
| 410 | —*Rome* taken by *Alaric*, King of the *Goths*. | 17 |

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*FINIS.*

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S